



THE PRINCESS ELIZABETH  
*of France.*

Published Feb<sup>r</sup>. 1797, by Cadell & Davies, Strand.



*Engraved by Agar*

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# PRIVATE MEMOIRS

RELATIVE TO THE

LAST YEAR OF THE REIGN

OF

## LEOPOLD THE SIXTEENTH,

LATE KING OF FRANCE.

BY ANG. FR. BERTRAND DE MOLEVILLE,  
MINISTER OF STATE TO THE EMPEROR.

Translated from the Original Manuscript of the Author,  
which has never been published.

WITH FIVE LETTERS, FROM ORIGINAL PAPERS,  
OF THE ROYAL FAMILY OF FRANCE.

— *qui me fit écrire ces*  
*lettres pour vous* —

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

LONDON.

Printed, for A. STRANAHAN, and T. Cadell, Junr., and  
W. Davies (Successors to Mr. Gough), in the Strand.

1797.



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1740

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*Et quorum pars —* VIRG.

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Printed for A. STRAHAN; and T. CADELL jun. and  
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Page 33. line 1. *dele nated*  
35. — 21. *for lady the court read lady of the court*  
142. — 13. *before consented dele she.*  
217. — 13. *for ante-republican read anti-republican*  
378. — 2. *for s'ensuit read suit*  
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CHAP. XXX.

*M. de Monciel withdraws from the administration.—He is admitted into our secret committee.—Another person is proposed, whose admission I oppose.—At the king's desire I agree to it.—The project of a fresh insurrection on the 29th of July.—Means employed to prevent it.—A new plan for the king's escape.*

M. DE MONCIEL was forced, by particular circumstances, to quit the ministry, where he had only remained a month: but during that short interval he displayed prudence, abilities, and zeal for the king's service. His majesty continued to place

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confidence in him, and he was admitted into our committees immediately after his resignation. As his person was not much known in the palace, he had the advantage of not being remarked when he appeared there; and on the days of the committee he regularly waited upon the king at nine o'clock at night, to give him an account of what had passed there; which he could do in a more circumstantial manner than I could in my letters. The king not being more exact than formerly in following our advice, M. de Montmorin proposed to call into our committees a certain person, who *had been* a member of the constituent assembly, because he knew that this person kept up a secret correspondence with the king, and suspected that he sometimes embarrassed his majesty, by giving him advices different from ours. I warmly opposed this, from the repugnance I felt at having any communication or connection with a man, whose conduct had been so odious and contemptible as I knew that

that of the person in question to have been \*.

“ He has acknowledged his errors,” said M. de Montmorin, “ and wishes to repair them. Besides, I am certain it would give pleasure to the king, who, you know, has confidence in him.”

“ I have often heard that,” answered I ; “ and if it be so, I am very sorry for the king’s sake, as no good can result from it.”

“ I neither love nor esteem the man more than you do,” said M. de Montmorin : “ but, in short, I would admit the devil, if his presence could be of any service to the king.”

“ And so, most certainly, would I : but I am persuaded that this devil can only do harm.”

\* This man, and his most intimate friends, after having been of the *côté gauche* of the assembly, and among the chief promoters of the revolution, was now an enemy to the constitution, and wished to have the lead among the royalists.

4 PRIVATE MEMOIRS.

“ You may be mistaken,” said M. de Montmorin ; “ so let us see. Come, come, you must make this one trial.”

“ In the first place,” replied I, “ it must be clear to me that the king desires it, and I will bring it to the proof in my first letter.”

I accordingly gave the king an account of M. de Montmorin’s proposal, and also of my repugnance to adopt it. He wrote back in the margin,

“ You will give me pleasure by adopting the proposal.”

In compliance to his majesty’s will, I told M. de Montmorin that he might send to the gentleman when he thought proper.

Our first interview was in the committee following, for I did not even know him by sight. I observed him, and listened to what he said with silent attention, only answering his civilities by monosyllables. His discourse was vague. He was loquacious, without saying any thing to the purpose. He spoke much of himself, of his influence

ence and resources, and of those of his friends; and what might be done through their means, and of the compensation they ought to receive in return for their services. In a word, one would have thought, according to him, that we ought to desire the king's welfare, and the re-establishment of his authority, merely on purpose to place the gentleman himself, and his friends, at the head of affairs. With all this, he proposed no plan whatever, except that of meeting us very often. He invited me to his house, and begged that I would permit him to visit me. I refused both requests, upon the pretence of prudence and circumspection: but my real motive was, that I felt both indignation and contempt for the man.

We agreed that our next committee should be held at the house of M. de Montciel, and that we should go there on foot, to avoid being remarked. When he left us, I asked M. de Montmorin if I had not guessed right, in conjecturing that such a man could never do us any good.

“ Do not judge of him by this first conversation,” said M. de Montmorin ; “ he seemed to have drank too much at dinner. Suspend your opinion till the next committee, and you will find that he is a man of real talents and resources.”

At our next meeting, this gentleman, in spite of our agreement, arrived in his carriage, ordering it to be driven into the court. He spoke less, but always in the same strain, and always about himself and his friends. One would have supposed that these gentlemen, who, till then, had never possessed any power but that of doing mischief, and had only had the means of committing crimes, when they reigned in the Jacobin party, had now the command of an army, able to overset that very society which had expelled them ; as if one could wear by turns, and always with equal success, the *bonnet rouge* and the white cockade, and lead the populace one day to the tree of liberty, and the next rally them under the royal standard.

Nothing

Nothing undoubtedly is more inconsistent than the will and affections of the people, but they seldom or never change their party without changing their leaders also.

Dumourier experienced this on the part of his army, when he wished to lead it to the support of the constitutional monarchy; and many others, when they had become ashamed of a revolution which had originally been their own work, continued, in spite of themselves, to serve it; and, in fact, were as hurtful to the king's interest when they professed themselves royalists, as they had been when they were Jacobins. Such, in my opinion, was our new associate and his friends. I therefore formed, in the instant, a resolution never more to meet him at the committee. M. de Montmorin perceived, by my looks, what passed in my mind, and therefore when the gentleman proposed to fix the day, the hour, the place of our next meeting, he told him that care would be taken to give him

notice, but he never received another summons. I informed the king of our motives for not choosing to have any further communication with this person, and his majesty approved of them.

In the meanwhile the Jacobins were continually projecting the means of exciting a new insurrection, of a more decisive kind than that of the 20th of June. The 29th of July was fixed upon for its execution. Their design was the murder of the royal family, or at least to dethrone and imprison the king. The plan was as follows:

Three hundred men were to assemble at the mayor's hotel, on the pretence of guarding Petion from a supposed plot against his life, but, in reality, to prevent him from going to the chateau, where the duties of his office would have called him at the hour of the insurrection, which was to be begun in the Fauxbourgs, during the blockade of his house. The insurgents were

were then to march in great force to the Carousel, with the cannon and all the gunners who could be assembled, all this on pretence of protecting the brave Petion, and exterminating the conspirators, who, as was asserted, were concealed in the castle.

I was luckily informed of all the above particulars on the 19th of July, and instantly gave an account of the project to the king, strongly urging the necessity of his taking immediate measures for his safety. I advised him, for one thing, to leave Paris, adding, that I would consult that very day with Messrs. Montmorin and Malouet, and send him the plan for his escape, which appeared to us the least dangerous ; that in the meanwhile I would employ every practicable means of oversetting the scheme of the Jacobins, or at least of getting its execution postponed long enough to give his majesty time to take the necessary steps for his departure.

The means which appeared to me most effectual for averting that execrable plot,

was

was to lay it open immediately by publishing all the particulars in a great number of pamphlets, which I accordingly caused to be distributed with profusion in the capital, but particularly in the Fauxbours, under the titles of "A horrible plot against Petion ; new conspiracies against the national representation ; the false *sans culottes* unmasked," &c. &c. But as I knew that the populace, though they seldom read pamphlets, devoured all the placarts which are stuck on the walls, and particularly *the Friend of the Citizens*, by Tallien, printed on yellow paper; and *the Sentinelle*, by Louvet, on blue : imitating as much as I could the violently patriotic style of the latter, I caused all the above particulars to be printed on the same paper, and in the same character, intitling the composition, *Sentinelle*, No. 42. ; and made them all be pasted upon No. 41, wherever it had been fixed by Louvet's directions the foregoing day ; by which means my history of the conspiracy had been read by all Paris before the Jacobins had time to tear it from the

the walls. I had foreseen that this would be the fate of my paper; and therefore had directed the first third of the false Sentinelle to be numbered 42, the second 43, and the third 44; and gave orders that Louvet's two succeeding Sentinelle's should be covered as soon as they appeared, by the same paper, but marked with different numbers from that which had been pasted on the first. *Belonging to*

I had recommended to the *Juge de Paix*, Buob, to send people who could be depended upon, to stand at a convenient distance from those employed in sticking up the placarts, lest they should be disturbed in the execution of their orders. That precaution was not unnecessary, as several of them were attacked by the spies of the Jacobins, and blows were given and received on both sides. One of my agents had three of his teeth broken, but was quite consoled on receiving an assignat of a hundred livres. The opposition was so violent as to prevent my placart of No. 44. from being pasted up. Where-

ever

ever it was attempted, the force of the Jacobins was found to be superior. One of those employed by me to paste placarts, was taken up and conducted before the judge of the peace; but, as he knew not the person who had given him the paper, the judge could draw no essential information from him.

He deposed, that a person unknown had proposed to him, in the name of Louvet, to stick up thirty copies of the *Sentinelle* in those streets and alleys, of which the person gave him a list; that knowing *la Sentinelle du Peuple* to be a patriotic journal, he had, without scruple, undertaken the business, for which he was paid five sols each placart.

The judge, after reading the spurious *Sentinelle* and the real one, declared that he could perceive no difference betwixt them either in style or principles; that they appeared to him equally good; and that he should be at a loss to say which was the most patriotic of the two: that consequently, the prisoner's mistake was

very

very excusable, and he ought to be set at liberty.

I do not affirm that these pamphlets alone were the cause of preventing the insurrection of the 29th of July; but they certainly contributed to that end.

The king, in his answer to my letter, entreating him to leave the capital, positively declared that he would not go any farther than twenty leagues; because that distance was fixed upon by the constitution, which he had sworn to observe; and, in the plan for his majesty's escape, I had therefore had his scruples of conscience as much in my eye as his safety.

M. Clermont Tonerre had for some days assisted at our committees with the king's consent: his zeal and clear understanding were highly useful to us in that important crisis. After profound deliberation with him, and Messrs. de Montmorin and Malouet, I drew up the following plan:

“ The castle of Gaillon in Normandy appears the most eligible place as a temporary retreat for their majesties: the building

ing is spacious, the park very extensive, and it is exactly at the distance of twenty leagues from Paris.

“ This place unites to the many advantages of the situation, that of being only thirty-six miles from the sea on the Honfleur road, and fifty miles on the side of Fecamp; consequently, a secure and easy means of retreat will be open to the royal family in case of their being pursued by the Jacobins. M. Mistral, *Commissaire de la Marine* at Havre de Grace, who is a zealous royalist, will always have a vessel in readiness to sail at an hour’s notice.

“ Besides, I am assured, that the people in that part of Normandy are particularly well disposed to the king.

“ It will not be difficult for the royal family to escape from the *Chateau* at midnight, and pass through the intendant of the civil list’s hotel, which communicates with the palace by the great gallery of the *Louvre*, from which it is separated by an old wooden partition, and guarded during the night by a single sentinel only, whom

it

it will be easy to set asleep by drink or opium.

“ On that evening M. de la Porte will invite no company to supper excepting Messrs. de Montmorin and Clermont Tonnerre, who will come in plain coaches, without arms, drawn each by two horses only. As the same number is usually every night at the gate of M. de la Porte’s hotel, for the use of those who sup with him, these two coaches cannot possibly attract attention ; they will be occupied by the royal family, madame de Tourzel, and two waiting women. M. Clermont Tonnerre will get up behind the one, dressed in a grey coat ; and an officer of the disbanded guards, in the same dress, will go behind the other.

“ The king and queen will seat themselves in the back seat, in order to be the less exposed to observation.

“ To avoid the Fauxbourgs, and get out of Paris as soon as possible, they will pass through the Boulevards, and go out by the *Barriere blanche*, which is less carefully guarded than the others ; they will go by

the *rue de Clichy* into the road of St. Denis.

“ The execution of the decree which reunited the Swiss guards to the troops of the line, furnish additional means of security upon the road. For this purpose, the commander of the Swiss guard shall regulate their march by the following instructions, which he will receive from the minister :

“ First. A detachment of fifty men shall leave Paris at such a time as to arrive at the *Barriere blanche* at the same time with the king, in order to divert the attention of the sentinel, or of the guard of that *barriere*, and preclude every obstacle to his passage.

“ Secondly. A detachment of 1500 Swiss shall set off from Courbevoie, so as to be at St. Denis six hours before the king passes ; and as great a number as possible of the soldiers of this detachment shall be quartered in the street through which the great road runs, having orders to hold themselves in readiness to set off at one

o'clock in the morning: that in case of a check, they may be prepared to obey the first signal given them by their commanding officer, who ought to be intrusted with the secret as soon as he arrives at St. Denis, and receive instructions to secure a safe retreat for their majesties, and to follow the coaches as soon as they pass.

" Thirdly. A second detachment of 550 men to set off from Courbevoie, so as to be at Franconville six hours before the king passes; and the same orders to be given to the officer of that detachment as to the officer at St. Denis.

" Fourthly. The last detachment, consisting of a thousand men, ought to be at Pontoise six hours before the king, in readiness to follow with the other detachments.

" All the officers and soldiers of the king's horse-guards being still at Paris, M. d'Herville declares, that he only requires twelve hours previous notice to re-assemble them at Versailles about midnight,

to seize their horses in the king's stables, and afterwards to lead them to any part of the road which his majesty shall appoint.

“ The two coaches to change horses at half a league beyond St. Denis. Part of the guard may be in waiting for the king at that place, and follow the coaches, while the remaining division may proceed directly to Triel.

“ From Pontoise to Gaillon, the king's retreat will be secured by detachments from two Swiss regiments employed in the department of the *Basse Seine*, who are extremely well disposed to his majesty : these detachments shall proceed on the same rout with the coaches after they have passed.

“ Their majesties may stop for a day and a night at the castle of Vernon, to give time for the necessary furniture to be carried to the castle of Gaillon, in case that the furniture which was in it has been sold, as there is reason to believe.

“ Those

“ Those of the king and queen’s household, whom they desire to have with them, will receive secret orders to follow, twelve hours after the king’s departure from Paris, and take with them, with every necessary precaution, whatever linen and cloaths their majesties may require. Confidential couriers must be established at proper places on the road, that his majesty may be informed every hour of the state of the capital, of the measures of the assembly, &c. &c. Those couriers may be chosen from the disbanded foot-guards who remain in Paris.

“ As soon as the royal family shall arrive at Gaillon, the king will write to the assembly, the municipality, and to all the departments, informing them of the circumstances and motives which have obliged him to withdraw from Paris.

“ A fair representation of the insults the royal family were subjected to, and the imminent dangers which threatened them, cannot fail to justify his majesty’s conduct ;

and such a statement may possibly make a salutary impression on the minds of the people.

“ M. de Montmorin, as well as myself, hope that his majesty will permit us to follow, or to go before him.”

I did not draw up the above plan until I had consulted M. d'Hervilly respecting the military operations in which he was to act a principal part: he approved of it entirely. In my letter to the king, which accompanied the plan, I entreated him to consider the urgent and great dangers to which not only himself, but all his family stood exposed: I represented to him, that there remained no other method of securing him against those dangers, but such a measure as was now proposed; and that there was not a moment to lose, unless he was determined to abdicate the crown, according to the advice which he was said to have received from many respectable persons sincerely attached to him; particularly M. Malesherbes. That however great

my

my repugnance was to such a measure, my well-grounded apprehensions for his majesty's life would have prompted me to advise the same, if I were not convinced that the above plan for his leaving Paris would be equally safe, and in my humble opinion more becoming.

## C H A P. XXXI.

*The king approves of our plan for his escape.*

—*M. Lefort, marechal de camp, is sent to Gaillon to examine its position.—The dukes of Chatelet and Liancourt make offer of considerable sums of money to his majesty.*

—*Letter from the deputies Vergniaux, Guadet, and Gensonné to the king, which he returns to them without taking any advantage of it.—Conversation with M. Malesherbes on the subject of this letter.—Plan of the Girondists.*

I SUGGESTED to the king, that before the plan for his departure was ultimately adopted; and while the necessary preparations were making for its execution, that it would be prudent to send a faithful and experienced officer into Normandy, unknown in that province: that he would find no difficulty in obtaining the permission of the directory of the department to

see the castle ; particularly if he announces a design to purchase it : that he must carefully examine the situation, and the means of defence of which it is susceptible ; and see whether it would be practicable to obtain assistance, if necessary, from Rouen : that he must be directed, at the same time, to employ all his circumspection and address in sounding the sentiments of the chief members of that department, and the municipality, respecting their attachment to his majesty ; and, above all, the general disposition of the troops.

I proposed that M. Lefort, *marechal de camp*, should be entrusted with this commission : the king was acquainted with that gentleman's talents and his zeal. He was great grandson to the celebrated Lefort, distinguished in Russia by the confidence and friendship of the Czar Peter the Great.

After communicating the plan to the queen, and reflecting upon it two days, the king approved of it, and of immediately sending M. Lefort to Normandy. But he

observed, that it was first of all necessary to procure money : that he was far from being in possession of a sufficient sum, the civil list being exhausted. I immediately communicated this answer to M. Montmorin, who told me, that the duke du Chatelet had informed him confidentially, that for these two months past he had kept a million in reserve to offer the king whenever he stood in need of it ; that sum therefore might be counted upon. I had, on my own part, already secured of my own fortune, and from other hands, the sum of 600,000 livres ; and I had hopes of assistance from the duke de Liancourt, who had frequently assured me, that he was ready to convert his whole lands into ready money for the king's use, reserving only a hundred guineas a year for his own immediate subsistence. He had already lent his majesty 190,000 livres upon my receipt, and had promised me 900,000 livres about the beginning of August. I informed the king of these resources, which, with the sum of 6 or 700,000 livres in assignats, and 5000 louis d'or

d'or that the king had by him, made up about three millions. I urged the importance of not deferring M. Lefort's mission, and the king authorised me to send him off next day.

At this time the Girondists had the greatest influence in the assembly, as well as in the Jacobin club. Among the chiefs of this party were Vergniaud, Gaudet, and Gensonné. The plan for a second insurrection was their work ; and although they had not yet ventured to put it into execution, their design was not abandoned. It was publicly announced that this insurrection would certainly take place some time before the 15th of August. The three deputies above-mentioned commissioned one Bosc, a painter, to deliver to Thierry, the king's *valet de chambre*, a sealed packet, containing a letter to the king, which Thierry was required, on his responsibility, to deliver into his majesty's own hands.

By this letter, which was signed by those three deputies, it was declared to the king,

" that the discontents of the people were ready to break out in a very terrible manner ; that an insurrection, much more considerable and violent than that of the 20th of June, was already planned, and ready to burst forth at the first signal ; that it would take place in less than a fortnight, and the dethroning of his majesty was the mildest consequence it would have ; that his only means of avoiding this catastrophe was to recall Roland, Servan, and Claviere to the ministry, in eight days at farthest ; that if the king would consent, and give them his word, they would pledge their heads to prevent the insurrection from taking place."

The king, after reading this imprudent and insolent letter, returned it to Thierry, whom he blamed for having received it, and ordered him to give it back, and to tell Bosc, that no answer could be made to such a proposal.

Unfortunately the king, on this occasion, only consulted the natural generosity of his disposition. His extreme goodness even

even extended to the wicked, and always prevented him from turning against them those arms with which they themselves furnished him. If the king had sent a copy of this letter, attested by all the ministers, to the assembly, another to the municipality, and one to each of the departments; had copies of the same been distributed in Paris, and in the principal cities throughout the kingdom, it would have made such an impression as would have occasioned a general rising against the Jacobins. I would most certainly have suggested the above measure to the king, had not the letter been returned before I knew of it. However there was one advantage still to be derived from it, namely by employing it as a proof, to the assembly, and to all France, that a conspiracy of the most dangerous nature was in existence; and that to withdraw himself from the consequence was the sole motive of his leaving Paris. His majesty's assertion would have been sufficient, with the attestation of Boze, Thierry, and those to whom he had shewn the letter, to have convinced

convinced the most incredulous of the public.

Four days after this event, M. de Malesherbes came to my house at nine o'clock in the morning, and told me that he wished to speak to me on a very serious subject, which particularly interested the king, and in which he had been applied to, because he was supposed to have always kept up a correspondence with his majesty ; adding, that notwithstanding of his having declared that this was a mistake, still they had persisted to inform him, in the hopes that he would find means of acquainting the king.

“ I went yesterday,” continued M. Malesherbes, “ to M. de Montmorin, and acquainted him with this whole affair : but he has sent me to you. The business, in short, is this \* : Two persons, whose names I must

\* The veneration which M. de Malesherbes has engraffed on his memory, by his generous defence of the king, which cost him and his family their lives, strongly induces me to give the whole of an extract I kept of this conversation, which is interesting, from the characteristic peculiarities it contains of that venerable martyr to humanity and loyalty. All who have been acquainted with M. de Malesherbes must remember,

I must not mention, having given my word of honour that I would not, came to me yesterday morning, and told me, after a long preamble unnecessary to repeat, that the chiefs of that party, who had, at present, the most influence, had charged them to inform me, under a promise of secrecy, that in a very few days an insurrection would take place ; that the people of Paris, headed by the Marseillois, and supported by the national guards would march in a body against the Tuilleries ; that the king's life was in the utmost danger ; that

remember, that the subject on which he was the most eager to speak was that on which he spoke the least. Few men had read and meditated more, and few retained more of what they had read, than him. His head was full of ideas, anecdotes, and knowledge of various kinds, which his vivacity prevented him from arranging. His conversation might be compared to the continual and irregular overflowing of a vessel of boiling liquor. During my ministry, he once desired a meeting with me, to recommend the husband of his grand-daughter for a particular office. Our conversation continued an hour, during which he spoke of a thousand different subjects, but not a word of his grandson. He was taking his leave, when I put him in mind, that in the note he had sent, desiring this rendezvous, he had hinted that he wished to talk to me concerning one of his near relations.

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even if he escaped the sword of the assassins, it would be impossible for the assembly to save him, and appease the populace any other way than by dethroning him ; that the king had no other means of overthrowing this horrible plot than by recalling Roland, Claviere, and Servan directly to the ministry ; and that every person interested in him ought to advise him to adopt that measure."

I told M. de Malesherbes that the king had received the same information and proposition from three considerable deputies of the assembly ; that he had rejected it with disdain ; and that I had no doubt but that he would do the same to this new proposal.

" I do not say that it is my opinion he ought to do otherwise," said M. de Malesherbes, with his usual vivacity ; " I am very glad that I am not to advise him in this matter : but if the king required of me to give him my advice, it would be to act as he has done ; for thus much I may say, without betraying the secret entrusted to me,

me, that the warmth with which this affair was mentioned to me seemed to arise from a source no way connected with any anxiety for the king. I do not doubt but there is some dirty finance business under it, and that Claviere has promised a great deal of money to these gentlemen. However I thought the circumstances too serious to be concealed from his majesty. I did not know that he had received the letter you speak of. It is what I never should have imagined. The poor king ! how I pity him ! He will hardly, I fear, escape these villains ; and it is much to be regretted, for he is undoubtedly a worthy and most respectable prince. But you have probably remarked one thing, M. Bertrand, that in certain situations, such as the present, for example, the virtues of private life, carried a certain length, become almost vices upon a throne. They may be excellent for the next world. I am willing to believe so : but they are of no value here. This reflection is melancholy : but, alas ! it is too just. So I find that you have kept up a correspondence with our good king. I

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am glad of it. You are happy in being young enough to be useful to him. As for me, I am too old to serve him: but ever since I had the opportunity of appreciating his good qualities, I have been warmly attached to him. I go constantly to the levee every Sunday, although I hate to dress, and, above all, to wear this confounded sword, which contrives continually to get betwixt my legs, and I fear will one day or other be the cause of my breaking my neck. But I wear it every Sunday notwithstanding, because my greatest comfort through the whole week is the recollection that I had seen the worthy prince in good health. I never press near enough to be spoken to: but that does not signify; it is satisfaction enough to have seen him, and he appears to be always very well pleased to see me. He always treated me with peculiar kindness during my being in the administration. He was sometimes entertained with my anecdotes. You must have been much surprised to see how much his character rises on being known, and how greatly he has been misrepresented

by

mated by those who are unacquainted with him. I never knew a person of a sounder understanding. Have you not observed, that in the council he never mistakes the best opinion ? Let me assure you, that is very uncommon. Do not you imagine, that if he had had the same kind of education that we have had ; if he had been habituated, as we were, to overcome natural diffidence by public exercises in the college, he would easily have become a great king ? for you know that excessive timidity is his principal failing. And even as he is, I am convinced that, with good ministers, his reign would have been one of the happiest of our monarchy ; for it is impossible to love virtue more, or to have a greater desire of doing good than he has. What do you think ?"

" I think, sir," answered I, " that it would have been fortunate for him if he had always had ministers such as you."

" Not so fortunate as you imagine," answered the good old man. " No, no ; do not deceive yourself. I was a very bad

minister. Indeed I never wished for power, nor to be a minister. I was pushed into that situation I cannot well tell why, nor how: but I suspect it was owing to a reputation greatly above my merit, and for which I was indebted to accidental circumstances. I told both the king and M. Turgot, that they could not possibly make a worse choice, for I was too old; my poor faculties began to be exhausted; that all I could now offer for his majesty's service was integrity and *bonbommie*, two qualities insufficient of themselves to constitute even an indifferent minister. All I could urge was to no purpose. Every body persisted, and I was obliged to yield. But the day on which I was relieved of that burthen appeared to me the happiest of my life. I do not pretend to say that I could have supported it much better when I was young. My head was too ardent. I was always fond of study, or rather of studies; for I attempted a variety at once: but I always hated what is called business, because it requires a kind of steady application that I could

could not bear. Although well acquainted with books, I was ignorant of men, and a stranger to the ways of the court ; and without a complete knowledge of both, it is impossible for a man of probity, who regards reputation, to remain in administration. Do you know that one of the most fatal defects of our government is, that it is impossible for the king, let him be ever so well disposed, to be certain, when he names a minister, that he has made a good choice ? He has no means of investigating the talents and capacities of those who are proposed to him, but is forced to trust to the account he receives from the people about him. And it frequently happens, that a person is recommended to him as a man of talents, who has none but those for intrigue, and who is capable of little else besides bestowing places and pensions on the creatures of the favourite, or of some particular lady the court ; perhaps, the mistress of one of the princes, or ministers. The reign of such ministers, it is true, is but of short duration : but those who succeed, being

chosen in the like manner, are seldom any better, and sometimes worse. What I have said of the ministers, may be also said of all who are appointed to any place or employment of smaller importance. In this manner governments are overset, and revolutions brought on. I know that the defect I have mentioned does not necessarily adhere to our government ; and without altering any part of the constitution, it would be possible to prevent intrigue and favour from influencing, in any manner, the nomination to places and employments ; and all that is requisite for bringing about this important alteration, would be to re-establish, with some improvements, the ancient form of election, and to extend it to all the places and offices of importance in the government ; which the king might do, if he pleased to insist with firmness upon it. But there lies the difficulty. Nothing is more rare than firmness of resolution in kings. But in your company I forget myself. I make you lose your time. You are going, no doubt, to write to his majesty ; in case he should happen

happen to alter his resolution, respecting the recalling of the three ministers, you will be so good as to send me word."

The moment M. de Malesherbes left me, I set down this conversation, which gives so just an idea of the goodness, candour, and integrity of that respectable and excellent man. He remained with me nearly two hours. I have only retrenched the too flattering eulogiums he was pleased to bestow upon me, and the episodes and numerous anecdotes with which his conversation was interspersed.

I gave the king an account of the alarming information which I had received from M. de Malesherbes, and informed his majesty, at the same time, that I should receive, in the course of the day, the whole of the 600,000 livres which I had undertaken to procure for him; and that I was already in possession of 400,000 livres of that sum. The king wrote the following answer in the margin of my letter :

" I can never alter my determination respecting the proposal made me by the chiefs of

the Gironde party; but I am not the less affected by the zeal which M. de Malesherbes has manifested, and I desire you will tell him so. To-morrow I shall send you, by M. de ——, my receipt for the 600,000 livres. You will write on the receipt the amount of the interest, according to the conditions on which the money was lent."

Accordingly the very next day M. de —— brought me the receipt, dated the 29th of July. He had another for a million of livres, which he was to deliver to M. de Montmorin.

I informed M. de Malesherbes of the answer I had received from the king; and four days after I was acquainted, that a meeting had been held at Charenton, composed of the most violent revolutionists in the assembly, and of the Jacobins; that the projected insurrection was ultimately fixed for the 9th or 10th of August; that after having plundered the palace, and forced the king to take refuge in the assembly, the populace were to demand his deposition

deposition in a style so threatening that the assembly would not dare to refuse.

The chiefs of the Gironde faction, who had planned the insurrection, did not at that time intend to overset the monarchy; their design was to dethrone the king, and make the crown pass to his son, and to establish a council of regency, which they would have composed of their creatures, over whom they would always have had sufficient influence to obtain whatever money or employments they demanded. But as they knew that it is easier to excite a violent insurrection, than to moderate it, or prescribe its bounds, so as to obtain the precise object they had in view, they were inclined to have relinquished their plan, on condition that the king would have agreed to recall the three ministers, who were too much devoted to them to have refused them any thing; from which motive they wrote to his majesty, and applied to M. de Maleherbes.

M. Lefort was only expected from Normandy on the 5th of August. I went the

day before to M. de Montmorin's, to settle matters ultimately for the king's departure. I there found Messrs. de Clermont Tonnerre, Malouet, and Lally Tolendal, who were in the secret. It was agreed upon, that Messrs. Montmorin and Clermont Tonnerre should each furnish a coach drawn by two horses, in which they were to come to M. de la Porte's to supper on the evening fixed upon for the departure of the royal family ; that M. de Montmorin and me were each of us to send four good horses to Pierrefite, a small village half a league beyond St. Denis, where a friend of mine was to go on horseback to wait the king's arrival, and then to set off immediately to give notice to the officers commanding the posts of the Swiss guards all along the road to Trier. He was provided, as well as myself, with a passport for the interior parts of the kingdom. I advised M. de Montmorin to get one immediately.

“ It is rather a passport for the other world that I stand in need of,” said he, with

with a look so very mournful, that it made me shudder.

“ What do you mean ? ” said I, looking at him with inquietude. “ Do you feel yourself unwell ? ”

“ Not at all,” answered he : “ but I am convinced that all those precautions are useless ; for I am persuaded I shall never escape those who are determined to have my life.”

“ How can you have such a conviction ? ” answered I. “ I have the same enemies with you. They are even more enraged against me, yet I believe I shall escape.”

“ I hope you will,” replied he : “ but as for myself, I am convinced that I shall be assassinated in less than three months.”

“ I cannot, indeed, answer for what may happen,” said I, “ if you give yourself so much up to those dismal ideas, as to take no precaution against the danger which hangs over us all.”

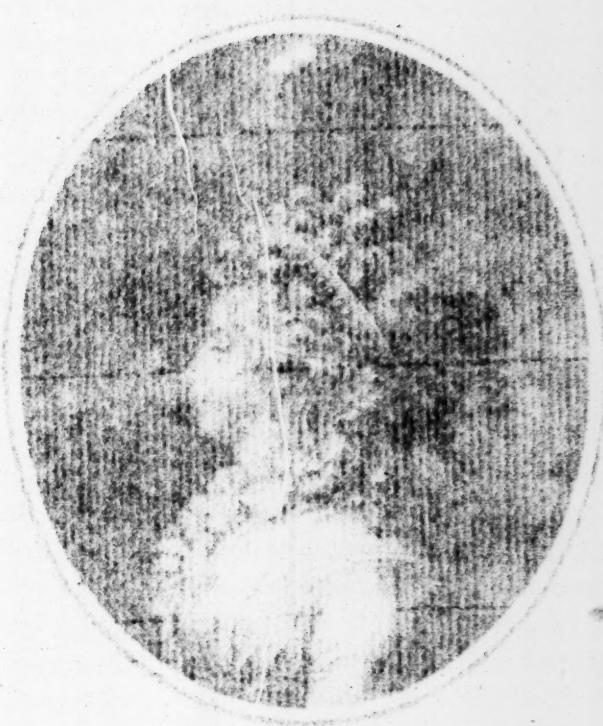
“ Precautions are useless,” said he. “ I have long had this presage. I submit to my fate : but I shall, to my latest breath, employ

employ every means in my power to save the king, if it be yet possible to save him."

"Yes, undoubtedly it is possible," said I; "unless he allows himself to be disengaged by presages also."

"Be assured," answered M. de Montmorin, "that it is not courage in which I am deficient. I now fear death much less than I do life."

This sad impression had taken such deep root in his mind, that all I could say to dissipate it, was in vain; and I only obtained his promise that he would procure a passport for himself before the end of the day.



# BLADAME ROYALE

Published Feb 1, 1797 by Charles & Davies Son and

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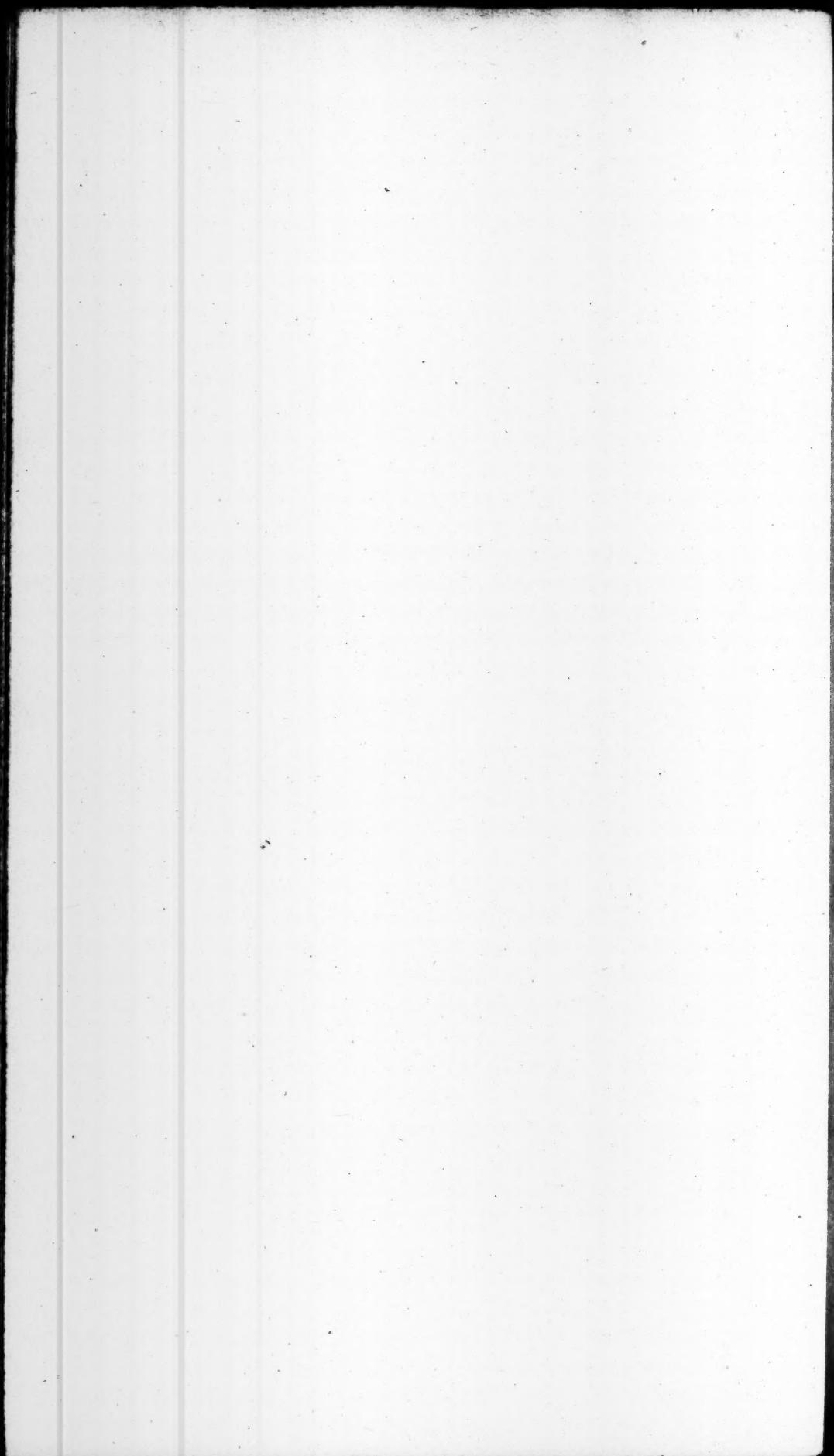
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## MADAME ROYALE

*Published Feb<sup>ry</sup>. 1797, by Cadel & Davies, Strand.*



## C H A P. XXXII.

*Return of M. Lefort from Normandy.—I transmit his report to the king, begging that his majesty would fix on the day of his departure as soon as possible, and to give the necessary orders to the commanding officer of the Swiss, that he would carefully burn all papers relative to the secret expences of the civil list.—The king changes his resolution.—My representation on that subject.—The king's answer.—The queen's prejudices against the duke of Liancourt.—His conduct towards the king.—A project of Madame Stael.—Tenth of August.—M. d'Herville.*

**O**n the first Sunday in August I went to the levee, according to my usual custom, in spite of the extreme difficulty I found in walking, upon account of an abscess in my thigh. The court was never more

more brilliant, or rather never more numerous, than on that day. The inquietude which the king and queen's situation inspired, and the grief, from the idea that it might be the last time they should ever see their sovereign, was strongly expressed in the countenances of many present. I could not long support this affecting scene. I left the palace, my eyes running over with tears ; yet I was far from imagining, at that moment, that I had seen the royal family for the last time.

M. Lefort arrived late that same night, and came to my house next morning, being the 6th of August, at seven o'clock. He gave me the most satisfying account of his mission. His report was contained in four pages of small writing. It was in substance as follows :

“ That the situation of Gaillon was in all respects as advantageous as could be desired for a residence of a few days ; that three thousand good troops would be sufficient to put the castle out of danger from a *coup de main* ; that the furniture had been  
fold

sold and carried off ; but in a few hours all that their majesties would require, could be had from Rouen ; that the opinion of the people in Normandy, and particularly at Rouen, was entirely in favour of the king ; that the department and municipality were composed of worthy, reasonable people, who, in yielding to the revolution, continued to love the king, whom they would assist as much as lay in their power, though they hoped that his majesty would not be obliged to take refuge in Rouen, because they dreaded, above all things, having their town besieged by the Parisians ; that the two Swiss regiments in Normandy were excellent, and might be trusted ; that the troops of the line employed in that department, were also well inclined to the king ; that the soldiers had expressed themselves with indignation upon the insurrection of the 20th of June, and that they would not hesitate to declare openly for the king, if his majesty was threatened with new dangers, and shewed confidence in them."

After

After conversing upwards of an hour with M. Lefort, I sent his relation to the king, strongly urging the necessity of his majesty's immediately fixing the day of his departure, and, at the same time, giving the necessary orders to the officers who commanded the Swiss guard, that if things could be so ordered, that the different detachments could reach their destined posts on the 7th, the king might set out that same night, or, at farthest, the night following.

At all events I besought his majesty to give M. d'Herville and me our definitive orders as soon as possible, that we might have time to arrange our respective measures, and that I might set out with M. de Montmorin, and wait for the royal family at whatever place his majesty should appoint. I reminded the king, in this letter, of the advice which I had already given him; namely, to recommend to M. de la Porte, to burn every paper and document relative to the secret expences of the civil list, before his departure; for it was indispensably necessary for him

him to leave Paris at the same time with the Royal family ; it being evident, that he could not remain in Paris without ~~the~~ the utmost danger ; and that all his papers would be examined by the orders of the assembly as soon ~~as~~ the king's departure should be known.

I did not doubt but that I should immediately receive an answer from the king to my letter ; and I waited for it all the morning with extreme impatience. The gentleman whom I had entrusted with the letter, did not return from the palace till one o'clock in the forenoon : he told me that the king had desired him to go back for an answer at five.

I was not alarmed at this delay, as I supposed that his majesty only deferred the answer until he could inform me of the arrangements he had made with the commanding officer of the Swiss, and his ultimate intentions respecting various measures preparatory to his journey ; but, at six o'clock, my hopes vanished, when my messenger returned from the palace with an order

order from the king and queen to suspend the preparations for their departure till farther notice; as it was their majesties intentions to reserve that step for the last extremity.

These fatal words were like a thunder-bolt to me. "What do they mean by the last extremity?" cried I, with as much rage as despair. "Who can the idiots or traitors be, who have suggested such a pernicious resolution?"

I hurried to the house of M. de Montmorin, to inform him of this disastrous answer, and to entreat that he would go and expostulate with the king, or write that evening to him in the strongest manner; and, if possible, bring him back to the only measure which could save him.

"I could not go to the palace at present," said he, "without being remarked, and giving rise to suspicion; therefore I shall write, but without hopes of success, because I am sure that they are swayed by different counsel than ours. The king is ruined, my friend, and so are we all. You

laughed at me six months ago, when I told you that it would come to a republic: you will find that I was not deceived; I believe it is at no great distance: perhaps it will not last long; but that will depend upon the fate of the king. If he is assassinated, the republic will certainly be of short duration; but if he shall be formally tried, and consequently condemned, you will not have the monarchy so soon re-established. As for me, I shall never see it."

" You have still the same fatal forebodings," said I.

" Yes, undoubtedly," answered he.

" Why will you then remain in Paris?" resumed I, " if the king resolves against leaving it, you can be no longer useful to him, as you have no charge. I assure you, that if I was in your place, and affected in the manner you are, I would set off to-morrow, either with the king, if he can be prevailed upon to go, or without him, if he cannot."

" That I never will do," answered M. de Montmorin: " what the king's de-

terminations are, I shall adhere to him till the last moment. I never can consent to separate my fate from his. Your situation is different; you have always been considered as a royalist; whereas I am looked upon here as a constitutionalist, and at Coblenz as a Jacobin. The king alone knows my conduct, my motives, and the proofs of attachment I have given him: he alone can declare that I have always served him faithfully: if that last resource is taken from me, I shall have nothing to oppose to those prejudices which would render my life insupportable; so, if he stays in Paris, I stay also, happen what may. I am now going to write to him."

M. de Montmorin accordingly wrote to the king that night; and the next day I also wrote a long letter, in which I endeavoured to paint, in the strongest colours, the inevitable catastrophe to which he not only exposed himself, but his whole family, placing in various lights the impossibility of his avoiding destruction, otherwise than by flight. I entreated his majesty to consider that

that this resource was still open to him, provided that not a moment was lost ; but to-morrow it would perhaps be too late. I added, that in case he had adopted another plan which he did not think proper to entrust me with, I hoped his majesty would remember that I had only remained in France in order to serve him ; and that he would, therefore, condescend to let me know by what means I could be useful to him. My letter was returned that evening with the following answer on the margin :

“I am assured, from good authority, that the insurrection is not so near as you imagine ; besides, there are still means of preventing, or at least of retarding it ; and I am taking measures for that purpose : it is only necessary to gain time. I have reasons for believing that there is less danger in remaining than in flight. Continue your measures of vigilance, and continue to write to me regularly.”

Soon after I went to M. de Montmorin, who had received no answer to his letter ;

but he was positively informed that it was the queen who set his majesty against the scheme of taking refuge in Gaillon, although she had at first approved of it ; but her distrust of the loyalty of the duke de Liancourt, who commanded in that part of Normandy, afterwards determined her against that plan. " M. Bertrand does not consider," she said, " that he is throwing us into the hands of constitutionalists."

Besides, they had just heard that the Prussian army was in motion. Nobody doubted but that the duke of Brunswick's plan was to march straight to Paris ; and it was thought, that the French army were too weak, and too ill commanded, to resist the disciplined Germans, led by so experienced a general ; and that our troops would take flight at his approach. Some private advisers of the queen wished this too much not to believe it ; and it was on these chimerical conjectures that the deluded court founded their hopes.

With respect to the duke de Liancourt, I had not become acquainted with him till  
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the month of May 1792 ; and, till then, I never paid sufficient attention to his conduct to enable me to form any judgment of it. He sought my acquaintance, because his assiduous attendance at the palace gave him an opportunity of knowing that I kept up a particular correspondence with the king : the object of his first visit, was to inform me of the means he had of serving his majesty in Normandy, where he was then going. He had entirely gained the confidence of the regiments under his command there, as well as of the department and municipality : his design was to take every opportunity of rendering the Jacobins odious, opposing republican ideas, and strengthening the attachment which prevailed in that province for the king and constitution.

The duke foresaw that the king would be forced to leave the capital, and Normandy appeared to him the province in which his majesty would be likely to meet with the most cordial reception, and where he would find himself in greatest security. Besides,

Normandy was the only province in which he could take refuge without passing the bounds prescribed by the constitution. It was upon this occasion that the duke de Liancourt told me, that if the king wanted money, as there was reason to fear would be the case, all his fortune, one hundred louis d'or a year excepted, was at his majesty's disposal ; and that by giving him notice, only a fortnight beforehand, he could furnish a million of livres at least. The air of surprise with which I listened to this proposal, affected him.

“ You perhaps imagine as many others have done,” said he, “ that I am a democrat, because I was of the *Côté Gauche* in the assembly ; but the king knows my motives for not being of the *Côté Droit* ; and I acted with his approbation. I could have been of no use to him in uniting myself to the aristocratic party ; an individual, more or less, would neither have rendered it stronger nor weaker. But, by gaining the confidence of the *Côté Gauche*, I had the means of knowing something of the projects

jects of the Jacobins, and giving information to his majesty. I do not say that I did not desire some reformations in the government, which I thought would be useful; but I never wished for a revolution; and, although I was always on the *Côté Gauche*, I defy any one to say that I ever supported a violent motion, or endeavoured to carry a decree contrary to the king's real interest and legal authority, which I always distinguished from the bad use his ministers often made of it. I was blamed for having prevented the king from going off on the 14th of July 1789, and for advising him to go to the assembly; but who could have foreseen the fatal consequences of that measure? and these consequences may be, in a great degree, attributed to the many false and weak steps which accompanied it, in which I had no part. I advised his majesty, on that occasion, to the plan which, in his situation, I would have adopted myself; and, if I was deceived, the fault is in my judgment, but, assuredly, not in my heart, which, the king

knows, was, and ever will be sincerely his."

I listened to this discourse of the duke of Liancourt with pleasure; and I can declare, and I ought to declare, because it is truth, that in the whole course of my acquaintance with him, I have ever found his conduct consistent with the sentiments he then expressed. His zeal for the royal cause, and personal attachment to the king, were invariable. I saw him shed tears for the fate of that unfortunate prince a year after his death: he seemed entirely engrossed by the desire of justifying his memory. But no proof of attachment on the part of the duke de Liancourt can raise surprise after his having sacrificed his personal consideration, and the good opinion of almost all persons of his own rank, by placing himself on the *Côté Gauche* of the first assembly, merely from a desire of being useful to the king. It is true that I have no proof of this but his own word, and the firmness with which he invoked the king's testimony, desiring me to inform myself

myself from his majesty ; but I never spoke to the king upon the subject, because it did not appear, at least at that time, that he harboured any doubts respecting the sincerity and loyalty of M. de Liancourt. I thought at the time, and still continue to believe, that the queen's prepossessions against that nobleman, whether well founded or not, were a great misfortune, since they were the cause of her rejecting the only measure which could have prevented that dreadful catastrophe, which has proved so shocking to humanity, and so injurious to the honour of France.

The necessity of the king's departure from Paris was so generally felt, that various plans of evasion were sent to his majesty ; even madame de Stael, whether in the hopes of expiating the mischief she had, without intending it no doubt, done to the royal family by her intrigues, or, perhaps, from an itch of intriguing again, invented a plan for his majesty's escape, which she communicated to M. de Montmorin in a letter that he shewed me.

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The plan was as follows: The estate of Lamote, on the coast of Normandy, belonging to the duke of Orleans, was at this time to be sold. Madame de Stael proposed that she should publicly give out that she had an intention to purchase it; and on this pretext, that she should make frequent journeys to that place, always in the same carriage, and accompanied in the same manner; namely, a man of business, of the same size and shape with the king, dressed in a grey coat and a round periwig; a waiting-woman of the size and appearance of the queen, having her face partly concealed under a large bonnet, with a black gauze veil; a child of the age and figure of the dauphin; and a footman on horseback. This last part was destined for M. de Narbonne. When these repeated journeys had accustomed the masters of the post-houses and the postillions on the road to the appearance of madame de Stael and her travelling companions, so that they should no longer excite much attention, she proposed that the places of the man of business, the waiting-

waiting-woman, and the child, shou'd be occupied by the king, queen, and dauphin, in the hopes that the three latter, passing for the former, would arrive safely at the castle of Lamote, where a fishing vessel should be in readiness to transport them where they pleased.

The only preparation she recommended, in case her plan was adopted, was to provide the bonnet and round wig ; and she made it an essential article that M. de Narbonne should be included in the enterprise, because she considered his zeal and intelligence as necessary to insure its success. No provision was made for the safety of the princess royal nor madame Elizabeth : but indeed madame de Stael could hardly suppose that those princesses would be exposed to any danger by remaining in Paris.

This plan appeared to M. de Montmorin equally dangerous, romantic, and inconsistent with propriety ; he therefore never mentioned it to the king, in the fear that his majesty, who regarded Madame de Stael as extremely romantic and extravagant,

gant, would be ready to reject every future plan of escape as wild and extravagant, merely because a similar measure had been proposed by her.

I have no doubt that at the time I received the order from his majesty to suspend the measures for his departure, he seriously thought of adopting another plan, which appeared so full of danger to madame Elizabeth, that she sent the baron de Gilliers to me on the 8th of August, at eleven o'clock at night, to know if I was the author of it ; and to request, in that case, that I would immediately put a stop to it. By what the baron de Gilliers said, I found that this plan was different from mine. I therefore desired he would tell madame Elizabeth from me, that, being convinced the king's departure was necessary, I had proposed a plan which I was sure would not have alarmed her ; but that his majesty, after having consented to adopt it, had, to my great affliction, changed his mind, and taken a determination against leaving Paris.

I have

I have since learned, that the plan that had alarmed madame Elizabeth so greatly consisted in the royal family's escaping immediately to Compiegne, to enable them, in case of necessity, to withdraw out of the kingdom by the forest of the Ardennes and the principality of Beaumont. The count d'Herville, who was continually near the person of the king, had been acquainted, before I was, of his repugnance to the plan of escape by Gaillon, and his ardour to serve their majesties had suggested to him this new scheme, which was known and agreed to at Coblenz, by the intermedia-  
tion of a man of the first rank, who had gone on purpose, and who, passing through Brussels on his return, had the indis-  
cretion to mention it to a certain person, who, the very next day, made the whole be published in the Brussels Gazette, and thus prevented the possibility of its exe-  
cution. I do not presume to make any comment on this singular incident, which is of too serious a nature to name the per-  
son,

son, as I have only proofs of the fact, without knowing the motives.

Nothing could be more alarming than the continual reports I received at this time from Buob and Gilles, concerning the state of the capital, and of the projects and manœuvres of the Jacobins. Already the day, the hour, and the plan of the insurrection were fixed. The king was perfectly well informed of this, yet still flattered himself that he should be able to prevent it, or make his escape. I have been since informed, that a negotiation had been set on foot with Briffot, and that as late as the 9th of August, an agent, authorised by the king, was still debating on the terms proposed by that villain, who demanded no less, for preventing the execution of the conspiracy, than 12,000,000 livres in specie or in letters of exchange, and a passport to secure his safe retreat out of the kingdom. It is possible that these terms might have been gone into, if the sum he demanded had been in the coffer of the civil

civil list; and it is more than probable that he would have carried the greater part of it out of the kingdom, and that the insurrection would only have been deferred a few days.

My complaint having increased, I could neither walk nor endure the motion of a carriage on the 9th of August: but one of my friends, who was at the palace the whole day, gave me an exact account of every thing that passed there, and of all the measures taken for the security of the royal family. Those battalions of national guards, who were on duty at the palace, were extremely well disposed to the king. Their commanders and officers were entirely devoted to him. The Swiss guards also were of approved bravery and fidelity. Those troops were reinforced by gentlemen and royalists of every rank, whom the danger of the royal family drew in crowds to the palace. This united force would certainly have been able to have defended it until the arrival of the three thousand

Swiss from Courbevoie, if they had received timely orders to set off. But even on the 10th, when they *were* sent for, if the king had remained in the palace until their arrival, which would have taken place soon after he went to the national assembly, he might have repelled the insurrection of that fatal day ; but giving way to solicitations, perhaps perfidious, unquestionably unfortunate, he sought an asylum among those who were preparing a prison, chains, and death for him and his family.

I shall not here go over the events of that day of blood, every moment of which was marked with innumerable crimes. They are too well known, and the recollection is too shocking to be dwelt upon. One circumstance may serve as a proof of the illusion in which the queen was, with respect to her situation, even when she was in the *Loge du Logographe*. When the cannon were firing upon the palace, and in the midst of the ferocious petitions for dethroning the king, her majesty, relying upon the president's

president's speech to the king, at his entrance, turned to count d'Hervilly, who was standing behind her, and said,

“ Well, M. d'Hervilly, were we not in the right not to go away ?”

“ I wish, with all my heart, Madam,” answered he, “ that your majesty may be of the same opinion six months hence.”

M. d'Hervilly had more than one occasion, on that fatal day, of displaying the heroic courage and energy of character for which he was so eminently distinguished. Danger entirely disappeared before his eyes, as often as any opportunity presented itself which enabled him to prove his zeal and attachment to the king. That coolness and intrepidity will be long remembered which this gentleman manifested at the awful moment when the cannon were firing on the palace, which was defended only by that detachment of the Swiss guards which had not received the orders not to fire, that had been left by the king when he went to the national assembly. The fire continuing, many of the deputies betrayed marks of

consternation at the long resistance, and complained that orders had not been given to the Swiss not to fire ; on which one of the ministers declared, that an order to that effect had been given. It was immediately required, on all sides, that this order might be renewed : but it was observed, that it would be impossible to convey such an order to the palace, upon account of the continued fire on the part of the besieged and the besiegers. The king, who flattered himself that this new proof of his goodness and confidence in the assembly would induce it to treat him with more consideration, was much afflicted at the obstacle which prevented his sending the order. M. d'Herville, being in the *Loge du Logo-graphe* with the royal family, was convinced, that in coming there, the king had taken the worst step possible, that he would certainly be dethroned, and very possibly murdered, immediately offered to carry the order ; determined, at the same time, to make use of it in the manner most conducive to the safety of the royal family. The king and queen

queen were greatly affected at this proof of attachment ; but, unwilling to expose the life of one of their most valuable and faithful servants, they seized his arm, to prevent him from withdrawing, pressing his hands affectionately in theirs. Madame Elizabeth was impressed with the same sentiments ; and all three, with tears in their eyes, entreated him not to go. M. d'Herville, whose zeal was only the more animated by such distinguishing marks of regard, renewed his demand with earnestness.

“ I entreat your majesties not to think of my danger,” said he ; “ it is my duty to brave it for your service. My post is *aux coups de fusil* ; and if I feared them, I should be unworthy of the name of a soldier.”

These words, pronounced in a manner the most capable of inspiring confidence, and the murmurs which the king’s irresolution excited in the assembly, at length determined his majesty to write the order, and deliver it to M. d’Herville.

M. de Vauzlemont, a young officer of the artillery, full of courage and ardour, who had belonged to the king's guard under the command of M. d'Herville, was at the door of the *loge*, and a witness to the above scene. He was that day in the uniform of the national grenadiers, which he always wore on those occasions, when he thought it most expedient for the king's service. This gallant young man begged to be permitted to accompany his commanding officer, and to share his dangers: but M. d'Herville expressly forbid him, saying, that his post was at the door of the king's lodge, which he ought not to quit. In spite of this, he persisted in following M. d'Herville, and shewed himself worthy of being his companion. When they arrived at the door of the hall, next to the convent of the Theatins, the national guards and armed mob, there assembled, recognizing M. d'Herville by his uniform of marechal de camp, seized and began to insult him with horrid imprecations. M. de Vauzlemont, who was listened to upon

account of his uniform, assured them that M. d'Herville was the bearer of an order for the Swiss guard to give over firing. They let him go, on his shewing them his order.

"Look sharp after him, *camarade*," said they to M. de Vauzlemont, "for you shall answer for him."

This danger was nothing in comparison of those which still awaited M. d'Herville. Hardly had he gained the street than he met a detachment of the national guards and of the sections, who, as soon as they knew him, fired upon him, but fortunately without injuring him. When he had gone on about two hundred paces farther, he was again fired at, and had again the good luck to escape. At the entry into the Carrousel, he was seized upon by two of the national guards. He knocked one to the ground ; the other ran off, after thrusting a bayonet, which he had in his hand, into M. d'Herville's thigh, and leaving it there. M. d'Herville having plucked it out, pro-

ceeded, notwithstanding the wound, to the court of the Swiss, always accompanied by M. de Vauzlemont. They were for a moment exposed to a cross fire of musquetry and grape-shot from the palace and Carrousel, and arrived unhurt at the court of the Swiss, whose courage seemed to be re-animated by the sight of M. d'Herville, who, instead of making any mention of the king's order, immediately began to examine how he could best prolong the defence of that place, so as to gain time for the royalists within the palace to join the Swiss, who were in number about two hundred and fifty, and whom, he expected, might still be joined by the well-disposed national guards, and, in all, make up such a force as would have enabled him to repel the insurgents, and to re-establish the royal family in the palace. He had hopes that the majority of the Parisians would then have declared for the king, and would have expressed their abhorrence against the authors of the insurrection; in which event he would never have

have been blamed for not having made use of the king's order; and if matters had turned out otherwise, he alone would have been answerable, as in that case he was determined to produce the order, which would have screened his majesty from all blame.

In pursuance of this plan, having posted the Swiss and the cannon in the most advantageous manner for defending the courts, he proceeded to the palace, attended by M. Vauzlemont: but in a narrow passage, which led to one of the back stairs, he again escaped being killed by a pistol shot from a national guard, who lurked in a dark corner. Having thrust his sword through the body of this cowardly assassin, he walked on: but as he ascended the stair, the tumult and horrible shrieks he heard obliged him to stop; and he was informed by a Swiss, who came down stairs, that an immense armed populace had penetrated into the palace by the gallery of the Louvre, and were massacring every one they met in their way.

The Swiss being evidently too few to continue the defence of the palace on the side of the Carousel, and to repel the numbers who had rushed in, M. d'Herville was forced to abandon his project, which would have devoted to certain death so many brave soldiers, whose numbers diminished every instant, while their courage continued unimpaired. He hastened to join them, notified the king's order, and commanded them to follow him to the national assembly, where the king and royal family were. As the attack was made by the Carousel and Louvre, the only remaining way was by the garden of the Tuilleries: but even there they had no sooner appeared than they were exposed to the fire of some cannon, and of the troops placed on the terrace. M. d'Herville had only sixty of these unhappy men in his suite when he returned to the assembly, which, elated by the victory, resumed its former arrogance, and basely insulted the unfortunate prince by the most injurious motions. The infamous

famous decree was passed, by which his regal functions were suspended, and he himself and his family retained as prisoners, under the name of hostages; for they were so called in the decree,

## C H A P. XXXIII.

*Consequences of the insurrection of the 10th of August.—Buob the judge sends me word to abscond.—Buob himself is arrested.—I take refuge in the house of a democrat.—Strict search made to discover where I was.—My brothers and valet de chambre sent to prison.—A letter of the princess of Rochefort, found in my house, is the cause of her being arrested.—It is asserted, at the assembly of the section, that my lurking-place is known.*

FROM the accounts which I received on the evening of the 9th of August, I expected that the palace would be attacked before day-break ; and I desired Buob to send me hourly information of the progress of the insurrection. I did not close my eyes during the whole of that night, which I passed in the most cruel agitation. Even

at

at half an hour after nine, on the morning of the 10th, I had not received any news; and from the profound calm which prevailed in that part of the town I inhabited, I began to hope that the king had found means to prevent the insurrection. But these hopes were soon destroyed, on hearing the noise of the cannon. I immediately dispatched two servants towards the Carouzel, by different ways, to know what was passing: but before their return, I was informed of every circumstance by one of Buob's agents, who came to me directly from the palace, where he had passed the night; and from which he would not have been able to escape, notwithstanding his national uniform, if he had not said that he was sent by Santerre with a commission to the municipality. He had come away immediately after the royal family had taken refuge in the assembly. Soon after Buob sent his servant to give me notice that Manuel, the *procureur de la commune*, had just been invested by the municipality with authority to keep a strict watch on the

houses of all who were known to be attached to the king, that my name, and that of M. de Montmorin, were at the head of the list ; that we ought therefore to leave our houses instantly, in order to escape the observation of the spies.

The very idea of flying, or concealing myself, when I had nothing to reproach myself with, was so repugnant to my feelings, that Buob's advice made the same impression on me at first, as if he had proposed to me to commit a mean action ; and nothing but the pressing intreaties of all my family, joined to the consideration that I still might be useful to the king, could ever have determined me to leave my house.

I went out, leaning on my brother the chevalier Bertrand's arm, (for I could not walk without assistance, on account of a complaint in my thigh,) and I took refuge in the house of the commander d'Estourmel, then procureur general of the order of Malta, who lived at about six hundred paces from my house. I met him at his door, on his return from the palace, where he

he had been ever since the preceding day ; having miraculously escaped the almost general massacre of noblemen and gentlemen who, like him, had gone to the king's assistance. He was pale, disordered, and without his sword. His looks expressed the deepest despair.

"All is lost," said that brave and loyal chevalier, pressing my hand. "The king is in their power, and we shall never see him more."

I had the precaution, in the beginning of August, to burn every paper and document which might have exposed the king, or those attached to his cause, to any danger ; for I expected that my papers would be examined immediately after his majesty's departure. I had only preserved my notes, which were entrusted in safe hands, under a sealed cover. With respect to the papers regarding my private affairs, they were deposited in two large pocket-books, which I hid in a place over the garret, without a door or windows, and to which there was access by a concealed

trap-

trap-door. I commissioned my brother, however, to examine my closet a second time, and to burn all the papers he could find. I had reason to congratulate myself on having had this precaution, when I heard that he found, in a writing-desk, an account of Buob's expences from the beginning of the month, with his account of the employment of the money, which I always paid him in advance; and he never failed to join to this account his own daily report. My brother immediately burnt this, as it was of the utmost importance that no traces of that business should appear.

I sent a person of confidence to M. de Montmorin, to warn him of his danger. He had already left his house. But the brave and unfortunate Buob, whom I had entreated, by his servant, to lose no time in concealing himself, rejected this advice, from the idea that his quality of justice of peace would protect him. He was taken up, that very day, by a band of wretches whom he had formerly sent to the Bicetre, and who

who were now set at liberty. He was conducted to the Abbaye, where he was massacred on the 3d of September following.

I remained four days at the house of the commander d'Estourmel. Only two of my servants were informed of the place of my retreat ; and my porter told all who came to inquire for me that I was gone to the country. Yet I found that I was not in safety, for unknown persons were continually observed skulking near my house ; and the servant who came to dress my hair in the morning was forced to come in a circuitous manner, and stop at various places, in order to mislead the spies, one of whom was heard to assert, that it was known I was hid in that quarter. I therefore left the *commandeur*, and took refuge in the house of a surgeon, who had known me from my early youth, and who had always been attached to my family, particularly to one of my brothers, whom he was in the habit of seeing almost every day.

This man's understanding was none of the clearest ; and his knowledge, upon any subject

subject foreign to his profession, was extremely limited. He idolized the constitution of 1791, without well knowing why; and although he detested the crimes of the revolution, he attributed them more to the obstinacy of the aristocrates than to the villainy of the Jacobins; whom, however, he thought rather too violent. Petion was his hero: but he detested Robespierre.

This man had a great regard for me, being fully convinced that I was no less attached to the constitution than he was himself. His zeal for the revolution, and fidelity at the assemblies of his section, had ruined his business, and thrown him into poverty: but he was a perfectly honest man, incapable of giving me up for any reward that could be offered. I had nothing to fear from the treachery or indiscretion of his family. His wife and daughter seldom went out, and both had a sincere regard and all possible attention for me.

As

As there were about thirty lodgers in the same house, and amongst these several patriots, more or less zealous, I recommended to my hosts to make no alteration in their manner of living ; to take the same quantity and the same quality of bread and meat from their baker and butcher as usual : whatever additions were strictly necessary upon my account, might be purchased at different shops, and in the evening.

I found that I had not left my own house sooner than necessary ; for the very day after I was settled in the surgeon's house, two commissaries of the municipality, accompanied by six hundred of the national guards, invested and searched my hotel from top to bottom. A large vase of porcelain, which stood in my study, and into which I had been in the use of throwing waste papers for many years, occupied them almost eleven hours, for they insisted on reading every paper it contained. Their only discoveries, however, were a few insignificant letters from the princess

of Rochefort, which caused her to be taken up, and detained three months in prison.

They likewise found an absurd and unintelligible letter on the subject of an order denominated *Chevaliers de la Reine*, which, as was pretended, had been established in Germany by some emigrants. There was in the same vase, a list of the members of the Austrian Committee, under Greek and Roman names, which was at first looked upon as the paper of the greatest importance, as it was the most mysterious. A verbal process was ordered and commenced upon the subject of this list, consisting of thirty-six names: but the commissary, on examining it more attentively, perceived that the key to the names was on the same page: that the abbé Syes was Calchas; Briffot, Ulisses; Condorcet, Narcissus; Dumourier, Mithridates; Santerre, Catiline, &c. &c.

After terminating their researches in the apartments, the commissaries discovered the trap-door that opened into the place

where I had hid two large letter-cases. They seized this new prey with avidity ; and after examining the contents, they carried the whole with them, although not one letter or paper had any relation to public affairs. They sealed up all the doors except those of the cellar, because they intended leaving a guard of twelve men at my house, and thought it proper that those men should have wine at their discretion. My cellar was unluckily sufficiently well-stocked to furnish drink for them and their friends, and they did not spare it ; but what was much more unfortunate, my brother, who had continued to lodge at my house, was taken up, as also my *valet de chambre*.

The commissaries, on leaving my house, went, with part of their escort, to that of M. d'Aubigni, my neighbour and intimate friend, in hopes of finding me. From thence they went to *Rue du Chaume*, to the house of M. Vernier, my father-in-law, where madame Bertrand had taken

refuge on the 10th of August. They behaved with great insolence and brutality, pushing their bayonets through the tapestry to discover, they said, if there was any one concealed behind it. They carried my brother and father-in-law, in spite of his age and infirmities, before the municipality. My *valet de chambre* was thrown into prison, and every day threatened to be guillotined if he did not discover to them the place of my concealment. Luckily he was ignorant of it; so that, even if he had been capable of betraying me, I had no cause for uneasiness on that subject. He gained his liberty a few days after, through the interest of one of his friends. My father-in-law and brother were set at liberty after a detention of thirty-six hours; during which they were often threatened, and underwent several examinations; sometimes at the municipality, and sometimes at the house of the mayor, where they passed two days and a night, without going to bed, and with-

without being able to procure any other nourishment than bread and water.

My brother, the abbé, who lodged in the *Rue des Prouvaires*, fearing the same fate, prepared to change his lodgings, and had his effects secretly removed. This was observed by a patriot, who was his neighbour, and who went and denounced him as a suspected person to the municipality, who immediately ordered commissaries, and a guard, to arrest him. While they were at his house, occupied in taking an inventory of his papers, my brother the chevalier came to inform him of his being set at liberty, and was directly taken up anew, on the absurd pretext of having connections with a person declared to be suspected. Upon the same principle, the surgeon, at whose house I lodged, was arrested; an unlucky chance having brought him to my brother's at that moment. They were all three conducted in a *fiacre* to the municipality, accompanied and insulted by a numerous populace, who,

without knowing who they were, or what they had done, demanded with loud exclamations, that they might be carried to the guillotine.

My surgeon, whose civism was known, was released in two hours; but one of my brothers was sent to the prison of *la Force*, and the other to that of the abbey.

I knew nothing of what had passed till my landlord returned to dinner. His dismal looks and unusual taciturnity announced some great misfortune. My first idea was, that the king had been assassinated. My host's silence to all my questions fortified this conjecture, and threw me into a state of such violent agitation, that he perceived it was of no use to keep me ignorant of the arrest of my brothers. In spite of the tender friendship which always subsisted betwixt us, I own that I was less alarmed on their account than on the king's, because their only crimes were those of being my brothers, and of refusing to disclose my retreat. I had it, at any time,

time, in my power to save them by giving myself up ; a step which I was determined to take if necessary.

That same night, about nine o'clock, my landlord entered in the utmost consternation ; he came directly from the assembly of the section, after having heard one of the members announce as a piece of good news, that the municipality had received information of the place where the minister Bertrand was concealed. The terrified imagination of my landlord, represented his house filled with commissaries and national guards, the minister discovered, and carried to prison, along with the person who had harboured him ; his wife and daughter insulted ; his little library pillaged ; and, as the climax of misfortunes, his high reputation for civism ruined for ever. He assured me, that I had not a moment to lose ; that I ought instantly to make my escape, and seek refuge elsewhere. I endeavoured in vain to make him easy, by convincing him that if

the municipality really knew where I was concealed, they would begin by arresting me; that they could not give a stronger proof of their ignorance of my retreat, than by thus ostentatiously declaring they were informed of it; and I concluded by observing, that the news which so greatly alarmed him, was certainly in consequence of a mistake, which my brother's arrest had given rise to. All this, however, was urged in vain; I could only prevail upon him to go himself in search of other lodgings, while I was employed in packing up my clothes, &c. It was agreed that I should be introduced into the new lodgings as his patient; and I allowed him to make what terms he thought proper for board and lodging.

I was extremely desirous that his researches might be long and unsuccessful, because I found myself perfectly secure in his house; and I was in hopes, that in proportion as time elapsed, his fears would weaken, and my reasonings gain force.

Just

Just as he was setting out, I thought upon a little device, likely to diminish his eagerness to get rid of me.

"In spite of my security," said I to him, "as your uneasiness is possibly well founded, and I may be taken up while you are gone to seek a lodging for me, I won't allow you to run the risk of not being reimbursed for the expence I have put you to."

"Oh, sir! there's no hurry, our little account will soon be settled."

"But you know," said I, "that if I should be arrested, they will take possession of all my money, and then it will be out of my power to indemnify you."

"If you absolutely insist upon it, sir—"

"Yes, yes," said I, "it is best to make things certain. Let me see! this is the third day of my residence in your house, and *consequently* I owe you a hundred crowns."

This *consequence* surprised him the more agreeably, as we had not agreed on any price; and he would have thought himself magni-

magnificently paid with the fourth part of the sum. I perceived his countenance to brighten, and he took the money with many expressions of gratitude. His wife and daughter, who were present, said nothing, but their eyes clearly expressed their strong desire to retain a lodger whose reasoning drew such profitable *consequences*.

I was now pretty certain that my landlord would return unsuccessful. I continued however to pack up my things as if I had been to remove in an hour.

The man returned very much fatigued, about eleven o'clock at night, and told me, that he had not found any place that would suit me. "But to confess the truth," added he with an air of disinterested good will, "I do not regret it, for I should have been sorry to have parted with you; besides, I have been thinking on what you said, and I believe you are in the right: as they have not sent to arrest you, it is evident that they don't know where you are; no, if they had, they would not have given you time to conceal yourself elsewhere."

"I am

“ I am entirely of your opinion,” said I.

“ Indeed, there can be no doubt on the subject ; my mind is now quite easy, therefore think no more of new lodgings.”

“ It is what I by no means wish,” said I.

“ Well,” said he, “ you shall taste my pigeons. I have thirty above stairs, which I rear myself ; you will find them excellent.”

I did not question the excellence of his pigeons ; but the certainty of not being reduced to the dangerous necessity of seeking another asylum, afforded me still more satisfaction.

## C H A P. XXXIV.

*A decree of accusation issued against me and all those who composed the king's council in the month of November 1791.—The quietude of my landlord on this account.—I address a letter to the assembly.—Domiciliary visits.—The dangerous situation to which I was reduced.—Means invented for concealing me.—A fortunate incident.—An expedient proposed to keep me secure.*

I SHOULD probably have suppressed an account of the difficulties I had to contend with after the king's imprisonment, had they been particular to myself: but as nearly the same dangers and difficulties were experienced by every royalist then at Paris, the following recital may be considered as a general history of our sufferings at that dreadful period, when virtues were punished

as

as crimes, and the most atrocious actions were applauded as patriotic virtues.

Amongst the effects and papers taken from the palace on the 10th of August, there was unluckily a memorandum, dated as far back as the beginning of November, the contents of which were, that the ministers, assembled in committee with Messieurs Barnave and Lameth, had discussed and agreed upon the grounds of the discourse which each minister was to pronounce in the assembly, respecting the affairs of his department. This paper, without signature, and in an unknown handwriting, was declared, on the 16th of August, in the assembly, as having been found in the king's escritoir. After simply reading it, without farther examination or discussion, a decree was tumultuously passed against Barnave and Lameth, and against all the ministers who composed the king's council in the month of November. As I had the honour to be of that number, I was comprehended in the decree; and on that very evening my name was echoed through

through the streets of the capital by the criers of journals. The alarming sound reached the ears of my host. Having bought the journal, he returned home, and with a trembling hand presented it to me.

"This affair becomes very serious, sir," said he, in a tremulous voice. "A decree of accusation is passed against you."

"I am very glad to hear it," answered I, without hesitation. "It is what I expected and wished. You will see that I shall embarrass them a good deal."

"How?" said he. "What do you intend to do?"

"I shall begin by examining the constitution, that I may exactly follow the rules it prescribes."

"I am happy to find you are so disposed," said he; "for to be plain with you, after a decree of accusation, you must be sensible of the consequences both to yourself and me. I would not, for the world—that it could be said—"

"You are perfectly in the right," interrupted I: "but make yourself easy, and be

be assured that I am far from intending to bring you into any trouble. You have been long acquainted with my fidelity to the constitution, and you will find that my principles remain invariably the same. But we shall talk this matter over to-morrow morning."

"With all my heart," said he. "I am glad I have mentioned this affair to you, for I own that this frightful decree has greatly disturbed me."

I had indeed perceived that the good man's attachment for me was strongly combated by his patriotic scruples. His conscience was more timorous than enlightened. *Leze-nation* was a crime against which he felt the greatest horror; and he had more than once told me, that he looked upon harbouring a person, against whom a decree of the national assembly was passed, as that very crime.

I immediately saw that his fears and scruples would lead him to give me my dismission, and it therefore became necessary to prevent what would have perplexed me

me so much. I succeeded beyond my hopes, by adapting myself to his notions, and even seeming to surpass him in zeal for the constitution. I had already found this the most successful method of leading him insensibly to the point I wished. What inspired him with confidence in my declaration was, the air of satisfaction I had manifested on hearing of the decree of accusation. He was convinced that I intended to prepare for going to Orleans. The affectionate manner in which he wished me good night, and the regret he expressed for the necessity of our separation, shewed that this was his real opinion.

He entered my apartment next morning earlier than usual. I seriously examined and discussed with him all the circumstances and motives of the decree of accusation against me, and I succeeded in convincing him that the assembly acted in perfect contradiction to the constitution, in passing this decree without hearing the defence of the accused ; and upon no better proof than the writing contained in a piece of

paper without any signature, and in an unknown hand-writing, which was merely said to have been found in the king's apartment; and upon a fact, which was not only demonstrated by the verbal process of the assembly to be false, but which, even supposing it true, could not be justly regarded as criminal. After having, by this explanation, enabled him to feel the force of my reasoning, I read a letter to him that I had written to the assembly, in which I declared, "That if the assembly found my justification unsatisfactory, and thought proper to confirm the decree of accusation given against me, that I would leave the place where I had been forced to take refuge, and go to Orleans, as soon as my health, which then was much impaired, would permit me to support the journey; and when the assembly should pass a decree which would serve as my passport."

This letter transported mine host with joy.

“ I will engage to thrust my hand into the fire,” said he, “ if the decree of accusation against you be not instantly revoked.”

As I was far from being of that opinion, I answered, that it was rather too much to expect that the assembly, in the height of its power, would formally acknowledge having passed a decree contrary to the constitution.

“ What are you talking of, sir ?” said he, with all the vivacity of a Gascon, and in the Languedocian accent. “ One of two things must happen : the assembly must either revoke the decree or confirm it.”

“ There is no doubt that it ought,” answered I. “ And if the assembly were composed of just, honest-hearted men, like you, they certainly would do one or the other.”

“ How can they avoid that ?”

“ I will tell you,” replied I. “ If my justification be not found satisfactory, the assembly will not hesitate to confirm the decree of accusation ; and, at the same time, another will be passed, to serve me as a

passport

passport to Orleans. But if they perceive that the decree of accusation cannot be supported, they will probably, in that case, pass to the order of the day ; and that is all I require."

" Assuredly—the order of the day—yes, they will pass to that. I believe you are in the right. But pray do you intend to send your letter immediately ?"

" No ; I think it will be more prudent to let a few days pass, before I send it, otherwise it would convince them that I am still in Paris, and the municipality would not fail to make fresh researches. Perhaps they might discover where I am, which would expose you to trouble. What do you think ?"

" Very true," said he. " I am entirely of your opinion. You must not send it for some days. I shall carry it myself to the post. You will not date it from Paris ?"

" No, certainly ; I shall only mention the day of the month."

“Right. Now I understand you.”

“I have another affair to consult you upon,” resumed I. “We do not know what may happen. It is not impossible but that some time or other it may be known that I was concealed in your house. This may be imputed to you as a crime; therefore I think it will be proper, for your security, to give you a copy of my letter to the assembly, inclosed in a declaration under my hand, to this effect: That being forced to seek an asylum, after the 10th of August, I took a lodging at your house, on account of my needing the assistance of a surgeon for the abscess in my thigh; that after the decree of accusation was passed against me, you consented to my remaining at your house only on condition that I promised to submit to the will of the national assembly as soon as I was able, in case they should confirm the decree; that, in consequence, you had required that I should write the letter, of which the inclosed was a copy; and that you had yourself carried

the original to the post. Do you think," added I, " that such a declaration would be of use to you?"

" Of the most essential, sir," answered he. " I should not have ventured to have asked such a declaration from you, but I feel myself infinitely obliged to you for thinking of it."

I gave him this declaration accordingly, with the letter to the assembly, which was dated the 20th of August 1792. It was received on the 22d, and next day read; and immediately, as I had foreseen, the motion of passing to the order of the day was unanimously adopted. But as my landlord was fortunately prepared to consider their passing to the order of the day, upon my letter, as a tacit revocation of the decree of accusation, he imagined that my affairs had taken a favourable turn; and that evening he came, with an air of great satisfaction, to congratulate me upon what had passed in the assembly.

My friends and relations, whom I had no opportunity of apprising of my measures,

were extremely alarmed on hearing my name proclaimed in the streets. My brothers, who heard it from their prisons, never doubted of my being apprehended; their fears respecting my safety were dissipated, on reading the Journals. My letter to the assembly, however, was generally disapproved of.

Those who spoke of this step with most indulgence, regarded it as foolish, because they were ignorant of the circumstances which forced me to it. They could not guess that my letter had produced the very effect I expected or intended by it, namely, that of quieting the conscience of the person who gave me refuge. From that moment he regarded me as a faithful constitutionalist, whom all true friends to the country ought to protect from the persecution of the republican faction.

In the mean time the *comité des recherches*, as it was called, employed every possible means of discovering the place of my retreat. They were convinced that I was still concealed in some house in Paris; and

Manuel, *procureur de la commune*, engaged to find me in four days. I was informed of this by my landlord, who had heard it repeated in his section, and was greatly alarmed: but I at last convinced him that Manuel had spoken at random, without any indication of the place of my concealment; and that his boast deserved no attention. We remained, for two days, tolerably quiet: but on the evening of the third, all the sections received an order, about eight o'clock, for a general search, to begin at midnight, in every house in their quarter, upon pretence of looking for arms; and all that should be found were to be seized, and transmitted to the armies. The true motive of this measure was to discover and apprehend all those who, since the 10th of August, had been obliged to conceal themselves, in order to escape death; and the greatest part of those who found means to save themselves, on that dreadful day, were now discovered, thrown into prison, and reserved for the still more

dreadful slaughter of the ensuing September.

I never was exposed to greater danger than on the night the commissaries were ordered to search the houses ; for consternation and despair had almost turned my poor host's head, and it was impossible for me to make him listen to reason.

“ Hide yourself, hide yourself,” said he, on entering my apartment, with a most ghastly look.

“ What is the matter, doctor ?” said I, without any apparent discomposure.

“ The commissaries,” said he, wringing his hands, “ the commissaries, sir. They are in the street. They are coming. Oh ! hide yourself—hide yourself.”

“ Well, and so I shall hide myself, I promise you : but I beg to know what new reason there is. Compose yourself, and tell me who these commissaries are.”

“ The commissaries of the section, sir, who have orders to search every house, from the cellar to the garret.”

“ And

“ And on what account is this search ?”

“ The reason publicly given is to search for concealed fire-arms : but I came directly here from the committee, where I was informed, that the commissaries have received secret orders to apprehend all suspected persons.”

“ If this be all, doctor, make yourself perfectly easy ; for you have no fire-arms in your house, and I have not the air of a suspected person.”

“ Don’t you perceive, sir, that it is a device of that rascal Manuel’s, and that he has very probably sent a particular description of your person to all the sections ?”

“ That is impossible ; for he never saw me, and can only give so vague a description from report, that ten thousand people of my size will answer to the same description.”

“ But what does that signify, if it answers to you ? I tell you, that you have not a moment to lose. ‘ Hide yourself—take my word.’ ”

“ Listen

“ Listen to me, my dear doctor: As I am the person most interested, and am not a downright idiot, I have certainly a right to examine a little the measure you desire me to adopt. Grant me a moment’s attention, we have time to spare. The commissaries, you say, have but just entered the street, they have therefore at least sixty houses to search, from the cellar to the garret, before they come here. Besides, there are many lodgings in this house. Yours is the most distant; and there is no reason to believe it will be the first examined; so that even upon the supposition that the commissaries were in the court, we should have time to take breath.”

“ Well, then, tell me what is to be done: but make haste.”

“ Why, I must either hide myself, or try to make my escape.”

“ But you cannot make your escape, sir, for there are guards at each end of the street. Besides, there are patroles to stop every person who comes out of any of the houses.”

“ If

“ If that be the case, there is no choice left but to conceal myself; and that is the easiest thing in the world, for I have only to undress myself, and go to bed.”

“ What do you mean? Are you in your senses? The commissaries will find you immediately.”

“ Well, and when they do find me, consider that I am not in my own section, and therefore shall not be known to any of them; and if I seem quietly asleep in bed, I shall have a much less suspicious appearance than if I am found under it, or penned up in some press, or lurking in the cellar.”

“ But they will inquire of me who you are.”

“ Very well; you have only to say that I am a lawyer of Limousin or Auvergne, who has been under your care during an illness, which has terminated in an abscess in my thigh, which is not quite cured.”

“ What name shall I call you by?”

“ Whatever name you please. But you may even be dispensed from naming me, because

because surgeons are expected to keep the names of certain patients secret."

"Well, after all, I own that I have not sufficient assurance to act this part," said he. "They will soon see that I am not telling the truth."

"That is exactly my greatest fear, doctor. I dread your pale, terrified look much more than I do the commissaries; for they will instantly read in your countenance that you have some great offender concealed in your house."

"Oh ! don't fear," said he, tremblingly.

"I should be much easier, I confess," answered I, "if you would be prevailed upon to pass the night at the committee. It will appear very natural, that in times like these your zeal should lead you to assist your colleagues. This cannot fail to please them; and your wife and I, take my word for it, will extricate ourselves to a miracle. You may, if you please, lock me up in my chamber, and carry the key with you. Your wife has only to say to the commissaries,

saries, that it is your surgery, and contains no arms except a few lancets and bistories ; and that you have the key in your pocket. You cannot fear that these gentlemen will have the brutality to break open the door of a colleague, whose patriotism is so well known."

" How, sir ? Would you have me leave my wife and daughter here alone, to receive the commissaries and the national guard, while they searched my house ? Assuredly, sir, I shall do no such thing."

" Why not ?" answered I. " Where is the danger ? But even upon the supposition that there was cause for apprehension, what protection could they expect from a man in such terror as you are in at present ?"

" I am not so frightened as you think. Any small fear I had begins to go off. I shall be quite at my ease when I have got you well hid. I am as much interested in this as you are ; for if you are discovered in my house, my case will be as bad as your own. But trust to me, and you shall

see

see that I have thought upon a plan which would conceal you from the devil himself."

I endeavoured in vain to dissuade him from his scheme, but he adhered to it with invincible obstinacy; and at last refusing to listen to me, he threw my mattrass and bed-clothes into the middle of the floor, to prepare the wonderful place of concealment that he had conceived for me. In the room there was an alcove, containing a bed, which usually reached to the wall: but for the present purpose drawing the bed forward, he left a vacant space between the back edge of the bed and the wall of the alcove. He fixed a board from the bedstead to the wall, and covered the board with a blanket only; whereas on the bedstead he placed two thick mattrasses, no broader than it; he then laid above those a large mattrass, which reached to the wall of the alcove, and consequently covered the space in which I was to lie hid. I yielded to his persuasions, and took my place accordingly. He arranged the curtains and bed-

bed-clothes so as to conceal the space I occupied. When he had finished his work, he was so delighted with the ingenuity of his device, that he quite forgot his fears.

“ Who could suspect,” said he, “ that there is a man concealed there? Nobody can take such a notion into his head. Besides, when I shall lie down, who the devil will dare to come near you? If the commissary pretends to approach within an arm’s length of my bed, I shall soon let him know that I am a commissary as well as he. I would break his head for him without ceremony. Well, how do you find yourself?” added he.

“ Very ill, indeed. I am almost stifled.”

“ Oh! that is nothing; only a troublesome quarter of an hour to pass. But you will sleep the better to-morrow night. Don’t move, or you will put all out of order. I am coming to bed directly, and will endeavour to give you a little air.”

“ Make haste, then,” said I; “ for this is insupportable.”

He

He accordingly undressed, and came to bed. I soon found my sufferings greatly augmented by the heat and weight of his body, which pressing the matrasses, rendered the narrow space in which I was squeezed still more oppressive. It was then about one o'clock in the morning. I supported my situation upwards of an hour. At last, having lost all patience, I started up, and waked my bedfellow, who had just begun to sleep.

"This is no longer to be endured," said I. "If I must die, I prefer the guillotine to being smothered; and am determined to sit up till I hear the commissaries actually in the house."

My landlord earnestly entreated me to have patience, declaring that he heard a noise in the street, and that the commissaries were perhaps already at the door.

"Then put on your night-gown," said I, impatiently, "and go listen; and if it really be the commissaries, return and let me know."

Luckily

Luckily my advice did not appear unreasonable. He made no objection to follow it. He was no sooner gone than I got out of the hole in which I had been hid, and cannot express the relief I felt in my release from that state of suffocation. I had not long enjoyed the comfort of breathing freely when I heard bursts of laughter on the stairs, and a very noisy conversation, in which I recognized my landlord's voice. He soon after entered my room laughing, and, in the fulness of his heart, continuing to talk as if he had been still in company with the other lodgers, although he had parted with them at the bottom of the stairs. His joyous and triumphant air was a clear proof that there was nothing to fear.

"How now," said he, "you have got up; you know then what has passed?"

"No, but when I heard you laugh, I guessed you brought me good news."

"That I have, take my word for it."

“ You have come to a good understanding with the commissaries, and prevented them from searching your house.”

“ Yes,” answered he, “ if several pretty hard blows are marks of a good understanding.”

“ How ?” said I. “ Did you give the commissaries hard blows ?”

“ No, not me : but all the neighbourhood are in pursuit of them, and they have been driven out of the street. It is the highest farce I ever beheld. Only conceive what these pretty commissaries are. Do not imagine they are members of the committee—No such thing—two of the greatest blackguards of the section, who offered, of themselves, to visit the houses, and were accepted of. It is shameful. They had visited all the houses of the street excepting two ; and being in that of the baker next door, his wife, who is young, and a very pretty woman, was in bed, when, behold, those impudent fellows, on pretence of searching for arms, behaved in such a rude manner, that she shrieked repeatedly.

Her husband opened the window, and called for assistance. In an instant more than an hundred persons were in the house, and drove out the commissaries, after giving them a complete drubbing. When I came in, the people were still chasing them with sticks and stones. They scampered as if the devil had been at their heels. I'll be bound for it they will not come to this street in a hurry. The blades were in luck not to enter my house. They would not have got out of it with all their bones whole."

After much of this ridiculous vapouring, which only served to confirm my opinion of the poor man's excessive cowardice, he begged I would take a little repose. I endeavoured to follow his advice, after returning thanks to Divine Providence for my preservation through the dangers of a night so fatal to many.

It is remarkable, that I happened to be concealed in the only street of Paris in which the commissaries met with opposition; and in one of the two only

houses of that street which had not been searched.

Next day, my landlord's fears being dissipated, he went out early in the morning, at my desire, to inquire after madame Bertrand and my family ; and I entreated him to bring me the most minute account of the result of the commissioners' visit. I shall say nothing of the extreme impatience with which I waited his return, nor of my gloomy apprehensions on account of his not appearing at the hour expected. He returned, however, at last, and gave me the consolation of knowing that none of my family had been arrested : but he informed me, at the same time, that he had seen numerous carriages filled with unhappy persons, who had been taken up in the course of the night, and were conducting to the Hotel de la Mairie, or the Hotel de Ville, and from thence to the prison of La Force, or to that of the Abbaye. He had likewise heard, in his section, that several persons, known to be in Paris, were not yet found ; and that it was probable

probable another search, more rigorous than the first, would be made. He added, that he would have no inquietude if this search was made by any of the members of the committee, because he was known to and beloved by them all; and being their colleague, he was certain they would merely enter and go out of his house for the sake of form, without examining or searching for any thing: but if the visits were made, as there was reason to fear, by the simple individuals of the section, as in the last instance, he could not expect the same attention, because he had never spoken in their assemblies, and was not generally known; that unluckily he had not talents for speaking or writing on subjects foreign to his profession: but he added, that if I would compose for him a speech, on a patriotic topic, which he at the same time mentioned, he would next day read it in the assembly of his section. I thought his idea a good one, and promised to do as he required.

## C H A P. XXXV.

*The speech I composed at the request of my landlord.—It is decided that the two only houses in my street, not yet examined, shall be visited by the members of the committee, of which he was one.—Massacres in September.—My inquietude for the fate of my two brothers.—I am informed of the death of one of them.—This news proves false.—Massacre of M. de Montmorin.—Tribunal in the Abbaye ; the manner of its proceeding.—Trial of my brother.—Remarkable conduct of two of the assassins.*

**I**T was not one of the least whimsical circumstances of my situation, that of being reduced to the humiliating necessity of writing patriotic discourses in order to escape the fury of the patriots. That which I wrote at the desire of my landlord, had not however any thing atrocious in it. Its sole object was to prevail on the assembly

of

of the section to authorise him to give surgical assistance *gratis* to the families of all the volunteers of the section, who were at or should go to the frontiers.

This discourse, written in a very emphatic style, had the most complete success, and gained my landlord the applause of all the members of the assembly. His name was proclaimed in the section in the most honourable terms; and next day, in the journals, the most flattering eulogiums were given to his patriotism. These two days were certainly the happiest of his life. He was quite intoxicated with self-applause; thought himself superior to future events, and he could not find words sufficiently strong to express his gratitude for the service I had rendered him. I advised him to take this opportunity of engaging two of his best friends of the committee to come and visit his house, and also that of his neighbour, which had not yet been searched; as this was the surest means of having nothing more to fear from the municipality, which, otherwise, on being in-

formed that all the houses of the street had not been visited, might again send commissaries at a time when they were not expected, and throw us into all our former inquietudes. This advice appeared to him very prudent, and he went immediately to the committee ; but he found it difficult to prevail upon any of his colleagues to search his house. They said that they would trust to his declaration ; but he persisted in his request by my advice, because his word would only be satisfactory with respect to himself ; and there were thirty lodgings in the whole of the building, which was five stories in height, and very large. It was at last settled, that he himself, with two other members of the committee, whom he had particularly desired, should visit his and all the other lodgings that very afternoon.

These commissaries came accordingly at four o'clock. He received them in an antichamber, which now that I occupied the inner apartment, was used as a parlour ; the door betwixt these two rooms did not shut

shut close, so that I could distinctly hear every word that passed betwixt my host and his colleagues. He performed the part we had agreed upon perfectly well.

“There is my daughter’s apartment,” said he, “and this here is my wife’s and mine: that room there, is my study in which I have a bed for patients who board with me. I have one at present; he is an advocate from the country, whom I have recovered out of an illness. I can answer for him, that he has neither gun nor sabre in his possession. I shall, if you’ll give me leave, let him know that we are going to search his apartment.”

“It is unnecessary,” said they, “since you say that you are sure he has no arms; let us leave the poor man in quiet, and visit the other apartments.”

“As you please, gentlemen, I am at your commands.”

They all went out together; and my host returned some hours after, felicitating himself as well as me, that we had nothing

more

more to fear from those cursed domiciliary visits.

I partook of his satisfaction on our having escaped so great a danger, and congratulated myself on having convinced him, that the great consideration he had obtained in his section, secured us against all future inquietude on that head. Alas! I did not then foresee the heavy calamities which were impending.

Next day was the dreadful 2d of September; when I heard the cannon of alarm fired betwixt twelve and one, I imagined that accounts had come of a decisive victory gained by the duke of Brunswick; and that foreign troops were marching towards Paris. My landlord, who feared this exceedingly, now began to be very much disturbed on account of the celebrity of his patriotism, the very idea of seeing the Houlans and Prussian hussars enter Paris overwhelmed him with dismay. I made him easier by assuring him that I would be his protector; and I solemnly promised

to

to justify his conduct by declaring that he had done nothing but by my advice. I then begged he would go out and learn what was passing, and bring me back accounts of it.

He returned at five in the afternoon.

I soon guessed by his paleness and gloomy looks, that he brought fatal intelligence.

"What have you heard?" said I, with the most lively inquietude.

"Don't speak to me. Oh! terrible! Stand aside till I shut the window; and go you," said he, addressing his wife and daughter, "and lock the outer door."

"Calm yourself," said I, "and tell me what has happened."

"Calm myself——! after what I have seen!"

"What have you seen?"

"Oh! dont speak of it, it is horrible!"

"In the name of God," said I, "don't leave me in this cruel incertitude; is the king in the temple?"

"To

“ To be sure he is ;— who was speaking of the king ?”

“ Why then have they fired the cannon ?”

“ Because of some bad news from the frontiers respecting that cursed little town of Longwy, which the Prussians have taken; all Paris is in an uproar. They are murdering all the priests they can find; the prisons are broken open; two or three hundred ruffians have rushed in, and are butchering the prisoners. I just now saw the head of the princeps de Lambelle carried on a pike to the Temple. All the bishops and priests, to the number of two or three hundred, who were confined in the convent of the Carmes, have been slaughtered without mercy.”

The most eloquent pen could but weakly describe the terror and despair which overwhelmed me on hearing this horrible recital. I was seized with an universal trembling; a cold sweat broke out upon my face. The dreadful idea of my two murdered brothers was more poignant than a thousand daggers piercing

piercing my heart. They had been shut up a fortnight before in the prisons, for no other reason than being my brothers: my troubled imagination presented them struggling with the assassins; I heard their dying groans; the sole thought of surviving them revolted my mind, and made me consider existence as an unsupportable torment. It is my blood only," cried I to my landlord, who stood amazed at the state in which he beheld me, "that they wish to shed: it is not just that my brothers should be murdered, because I am concealed; go, therefore, run directly, and let them know, that if my life will save theirs, I am ready to deliver myself up instantly, and you may announce the same to the people."

He endeavoured to calm me by the assurance, that he had made inquiries respecting the fate of my brothers: he had been positively informed, that they were both alive, and not in such danger as I imagined; because, after the first massacres, a tribunal had been established in each

prison, before which the prisoners were tried one after the other ; that those against whom there were the most serious accusations, were tried first ; and, as there was a great number of prisoners, the slaughter would be stopt before my brothers would be called, as there was no particular crime stated in the prison register against either of them. He told me also, that a corporal of the national guard, a very intelligent man, who was much attached to my brother the Abbé, was gone to the *Prison de la Force* to employ every possible means of saving him.

These assurances, in some degree, calmed me ; and *Hope*, that second soul of the miserable, was so necessary to me, that I eagerly grasped every circumstance which tended to revive it.

I sent my landlord for more particular information to the corporal ; to entreat of him to procure me some intelligence concerning my brother the chevalier, and to render both all the service in his power. My landlord acquitted himself of his commission ;

miffion ; and as the corporal was not returned home, he left a note at his lodgings to the effect already mentioned.

The impatience and agitation with which I expected this man may be easily conceived. It was about mid-day when he came to my lodging. The landlord, after talking with him a few moments, introduced him into my apartment. The slowness with which I had heard him advance to my door made me shudder: but his silence, and the appearance of his eyes, which seemed swelled and red with weeping, filled me with the most direful presages.

“ My brother is, then, dead ? ” cried I, with a voice broken by convulsive sobs.—“ The poor Abbé—you could not, then, save him ? ”

“ Pardon me, sir ; I have this moment parted from him. He desires to be remembered to you.”

“ You have just parted with him ! He is not then dead ? ”

“ No,

“ No, thank God ; and I hope we shall save him. The municipal officer at the head of the tribunal is very well disposed towards him.”

“ Why did not you tell me so at once ? Why do you look so sad ? Have you any bad news to tell me ? Don’t keep me in this cruel suspense.”

“ Alas ! sir,—the chevalier—”

“ Oh ! is he dead ? Have you seen him ? Tell me all.”

“ I have not seen him. It was not in my power to get near him : but his servant found his dead body amongst those which are heaped before the gate of the Abbaye. He told me so just now.”

These terrible words overset my reason. I stared wildly at the officer ; and some drops of blood I perceived on his coat excited an emotion of inexpressible horror against him.

“ You are covered with blood, sir,” cried I, with frantic indignation. “ Leave me instantly. Get out of my sight ; I wish to be alone.”

The

The poor man, quite confounded at the harshness with which I spoke to him, left me without answering a single word. I immediately locked my door, and darkened the windows ; for at that moment the light of the sun, and the sight of a human being, were equally odious to me.

I threw myself upon my bed in a state which cannot be described. My brain throbbed, and my whole body was convulsed. After remaining two hours in this situation, a flood of tears, without abating my sorrow, weakened its effects, and gave me some relief. My head-ach and convulsions ceased, but my reflections were equally bitter. When I imagined I had lost the Abbé, it seemed to me that I should have regretted the Chevalier less than him : but now when I thought that it was the Chevalier who had perished, he seemed to my afflicted heart the dearest of the two. Besides, I bitterly reproached myself for being, in some degree, the cause of his death, by persuading him to return from his travels, to France, on my nomination

to the ministry. I had done this, that the king might not be reproached for having in his administration the brother of a man, who might be suspected of emigration.

It was impossible for me to shut my eyes the whole night. I rose at day-break, exhausted with pain and grief, ready to expire with burning heat, and my mouth parched with thirst. I little expected that the day which was beginning would see me pass from the extreme of grief to that of joy. At nine in the morning my faithful *valet de chambre*, whom I had not seen for a fortnight, suddenly entered my apartment. His cheerful looks announced good news, but did not relieve my sorrow, as I thought he was coming to tell me of my brother the *Abbé*'s safety, which I expected, from what the corporal had already told me: but what was my happiness and astonishment, when this worthy, honest man told me, and repeated it several times before I could believe, him, that the Chevalier was alive, and had returned, at two in the morning, to my father-in-law's house; that he himself

had seen him, and had shaken him by the hand.

"Ah, my dear friend," said I, embracing him as affectionately as if he had been my brother, "you have restored me to life. I shall never forget this mark of attachment."

He was so much affected, that he began to weep and sob from the bottom of his heart. My satisfaction was increased by the share this faithful domestic took in it\*.

My soul was so intoxicated with joy the whole day, that no dismal idea could find entrance. Entirely occupied with my brother's safety, I for some hours forgot the public calamity: but this cheerful gleam was but too soon obscured. Next day I learnt, with the utmost horror, that the massacre of the prisoners continued day and night, without interruption. All my quietude, as far as it regarded my brother,

\* It was this same man who, a month after my leaving the kingdom, gave me a still greater proof of attachment, in quitting his wife and children, and braving, without a passport, the dangers of emigration, in order to join me in England.

was, however, terminated that very day, when the corporal came to inform me that the Abbé had also been found innocent, and set at liberty. Both my brothers owed their deliverance to their courage and presence of mind, joined to this fortunate circumstance, that none of the villains, who had caused them to be arrested, merely for being my brothers, were of the tribunal that acquitted them. The serenity of their countenances prejudiced in their favour the very assassins who, when they judged them, knew not that they were my brothers, and found no particular charge stated against them. That acquittal proved afterwards their safeguard in the most bloody periods of the revolution. The monsters who succeeded were undoubtedly afraid of shewing themselves more ferocious than their predecessors, by condemning those who were spared on the 2d of September.

The unfortunate count de Montmorin had taken refuge, on the 10th of August, at the house of a washerwoman in the Fauxbourgs St. Antoine. He was dis-

covered a few days before the 2d of September, by the imprudence of his hostess, who bought the finest fowls and the best fruit she could find, and carried them to her house, without taking any precaution to elude the observation of her neighbours. They soon suspected her of giving refuge to some aristocrate of the highest order. This conjecture spread amongst the populace of the Fauxbourgs, who were almost all of them agents or spies of the Jacobins. Those suspicions having reached the committee *des recherches* appointed by the municipality, they ordered the house of the washer-woman to be searched. M. de Montmorin was arrested at the moment he least expected it, and conducted to the bar of the national assembly. He answered the questions which were put to him with great calmness, and in the most satisfactory manner: but his having concealed himself, and a bottle of opium found in his pocket, formed, as they said, a strong presumption that he was conscious of some crime, of which they expected to find proofs in the papers seized in

his own house. After being detained two days in the committee, he was sent a prisoner to the Abbaye, where his dismal forebodings were too well verified. He was murdered with circumstances too shocking to mention, and his tortured body carried in triumph to the national assembly.

Amidst these scenes of horror and carnage, and amongst these ferocious monsters, who acted alternately as judges and executioners, my brother the Chevalier had the good fortune to meet with two men, who, although covered with the blood which they themselves had shed, were nevertheless susceptible of the sentiments of humanity. As those men were the instruments of saving my brother's life, I can never think of them without gratitude. The particulars of their extraordinary conduct I had from my brother himself, and are as follows :

The tribunal established in the prison, for the pretended trial of the prisoners, had delivered to the executioner all who had been brought before it. When my brother was

was summoned, one of those who were conducting him, struck with the calmness and air of security he remarked in his countenance, after having looked at him some moments with earnestness, said,

“ You have the appearance of an honest man. One conscious of guilt has not such a countenance.”

“ Well, I am conscious of no guilt.”

“ Why are you here, then ?”

“ That is what I cannot tell. Nobody has been able to inform me. I am convinced I was taken up by mistake.”

“ You are sure of that ?”

“ Very sure.”

“ In that case fear nothing. Keep a good heart. Speak firm before the judge, and rely on my support. Do you hear ? We shall bring you off, as sure as my name is Michel.”

“ I am not at all afraid ; but I can assure you that you shall be well rewarded.”

“ Don’t talk of that,” replied he, with a shake of his head.

The unexpected good fortune, of finding a zealous protector among these assassins, imparted to my brother all the steadiness requisite to enable him to support the horrible aspect of his judges. Being arrived at the bar of this tribunal of blood, and interrogated, by one of the butchers who presided, as to his name and quality ; he mentioned his name, adding that he was a *Malthais*.

“ *Malthais ! Malthais !* What does that mean ? What is a *Malthais* ? ” exclaimed a hundred voices at once.

“ He means that he is from Malta,” answered my brother’s conductor, in a loud voice. Malta is an island ; don’t you know that ? I have known a great many people who came from it, and all of them were *Malthais*.”

“ Ah, it is an island,” said one. “ The prisoner is, then, a stranger ? ”

“ Yes, to be sure he is a stranger. What else can he be, you blockhead ? ”

“ Very well : but don’t you be in a passion, citizen.”

“ Call

"Call to order, call to order, president," cried out several at once. "Come, let us make haste."

"The president then asked my brother of what he was accused. My brother answered, that he did not know, for nobody had been able to tell him."

"He lies, he lies," was echoed from all sides.

"Silence, citizens," answered honest Michel, in a voice of authority ; "let the prisoner speak. If he lies, his business will soon be done for him: but you won't condemn him without hearing him, I hope?"

"No, no, no ; that is but fair. Let us hear what he has to say for himself. Michel is in the right. Hear him, hear him. Go on, president."

"Why were you arrested ?" resumed the president.

"Because I had the misfortune to call upon a person at the very moment the guard came to arrest him. They took me, (and another, who had also called by accident,) along

along with him to the municipality : but the other being a commissary of the section, obtained his liberty in a few hours. My friends have also taken steps to procure mine ; and they have always been told, that orders would be immediately given for that purpose. I cannot conceive why they have not."

" But are you certain," said the president, " that there is no accusation against you on the register ? "

" I have no reason to think there is : but if there be, I shall not be at a loss to justify myself."

" Bring me the register," said the president.

It was delivered to him by the gaoler ; and upon examining it, the president finding no crime annexed to the name of my brother, nor any reason whatever given for his being arrested, he handed the register to the other members of the tribunal, in order to convince them ; and then declared, with a loud voice, that the prisoner had told the truth.

" The

“ The nation ought, then, to declare him innocent,” cried Michel.

The motion was supported by a general “ *oui, oui, oui, oui.* ” This unanimous acclamation was immediately followed by a formal declaration of the tribunal, in the name of the nation, that the prisoner was innocent ; and he was ordered to be set at liberty. This sentence was applauded by repeated cries of *vive la nation !* Upon this Michel, and one of his comrades, who had seemed equally interested in my brother’s fate, took him under the arm, and conducted him to the outer gate of the prison, where the massacres were committed, and loudly proclaimed him innocent.

The executioners were drawn up in two opposite rows, their weapons ready to strike, when the words “ *citoyen innocent* ” reached their ears. They instantly surrounded him, lifted him in their arms with clamorous transports of joy ; and with faces and hands besmeared with blood, they hugged him by turns. He was forced to submit, with a good grace, to these horrible careffes, which

his

his vigorous conductors with difficulty relieved him from, saying that he was unwell, required rest, and that it would be cruel to detain him longer. After having disengaged him from the mob, Michel asked him if he had any relations in town, to whom he wished to be conducted. He answered, that he had a sister-in-law, to whose house he was going, but that he would not give them the trouble of accompanying him, as he had sufficient strength still left to walk by himself. He at the same time expressed his gratitude for their services, and offered them a handful of assignats as a small recompense for all they had done for him. They refused his money, and persisted in accompanying him.

“ We must answer for you,” said one of them to him ; “ and we cannot leave you till we have seen you in safety. As for your assignats, we will have none of them. The satisfaction of saving you is better than that. It is to your sister-in-law’s, then, we are now going ? Where does she live ? ”

“ In

“ In the *rue du Chaume*.”

“ The good lady will be surprised and happy, no doubt, to see you again.”

“ Oh ! certainly. She will be delighted.”

“ You would never guess, sir,” said honest Michel, “ what my comrade and I have been whispering together. We were just saying, that if you would give us leave to attend you to your sister’s, it would do both our hearts good to see so happy a meeting.”

“ You are very kind, my friends, but it is late, and you stand in need of sleep.”

“ Oh ! sir, that fight would refresh us more than any thing.”

“ I should be glad of your company, but my sister-in-law is so timid, and of such a delicate constitution, that the fight of strangers, at so late an hour, might alarm her ; and besides, the blood on your clothes might do her harm, which would certainly give you pain.”

“ Certainly,” replied they : “ but when you tell her that it was us who saved your life, she will be glad to see us. Depend upon it we will not frighten her. Come, come,

come, sir, give us this satisfaction ; it will not cost you so much as the money you offered, and will afford us more pleasure."

My brother was forced to yield to their intreaties. They accompanied him to the house of my father-in-law, to which Madame Bertrand and my children had gone after the 10th of August. The joy of my family, on seeing the Chevalier, was the more lively, as they had given him up for lost.

Madame Bertrand being prepared for the strange visit she was to receive, she consented to it without repugnance. Her heart was too full of joy and gratitude to be accessible to other sentiments. She only saw in these men, covered with blood, the deliverers of my brother, and she received them as her benefactors. They were extremely touched by this reception, and with the joy of madame Bertrand and her family, who surrounded the Chevalier, and embraced him with many tears.

Michel and his friend were delighted with this scene of happiness, which they justly considered as their own work.

" It

"It is you and I, my friend, after all," said Michel to his comrade, "who have saved the life of this honest man."

To this the other assented, the tears, at the same instant, falling from the eyes of both. This emotion was undoubtedly mixed with remorse; for at a moment when mild humanity began to resume her influence in the breasts of those men, perhaps originally good, but perverted by fanaticism and example, they could not but reflect with horror on the bloody scenes to which they had been accessory.

They had the discretion not to prolong their visit beyond a quarter of an hour; and in taking leave of my brother, they repeatedly thanked him for the pleasure he had procured them.

The reader must be struck with such an astonishing instance of sentiments so opposite and discordant existing in the same breast. How can we account for a fact so very extraordinary, that those who are employed as the assassins of their fellow-creatures, should, almost in the same moment,

ment, shew themselves sensible of the most pleasing sensations of benevolence and compassion to a man quite unknown to them? Even those who have most deeply examined the human heart must be perplexed to give a satisfactory explanation of this phenomenon, which is perhaps without example.

## C H A P. XXXVI.

*New manœuvres to discover the place of my concealment.—The Jacobins publish an account of my death.—My house in the country is burnt.—Death of my father.—The retreat of the duke of Brunswick.—I resolve to quit the kingdom.—I arrive at Boulogne, where I embark.*

THE committees of public safety, appointed by the assembly and by the municipality of Paris, which were composed of the most violent Jacobins, continued to pursue me with as much rancour as ever, and employed every means to discover the place of my concealment. M. d'Andrefsel, treasurer of the invalids of the sea service, found means to inform me, that Le Cointre-Puiraveau, one of the most worthless scoundrels in the assembly, had made him a visit, in the name of the com-

mittee, to learn from him where I was hid ; and that he had tried, first by promises, and afterwards by threats, to extort from him the secret. M. d'Andrefel was incapable of disclosing it, had he known it : but, in fact, he was not at all in my confidence, and knew not where I was. " We are absolutely certain," said Le Cointre, " by the information which we have already got, and by the measures which we have taken, that he cannot escape ; therefore in telling us at present where he is, you will shorten our search, without doing any harm either to yourself or him ; for nobody shall ever know that you gave us the information. You may depend upon it that the assembly will take it as an obligation, and I am desired to assure you of that."

The narrative of the massacre of the prisoners at Versailles, which was published, a few days afterwards, by the infamous Hebert, and which contained all the particulars of my death, was certainly one of the measures which Le Cointre alluded to. They flattered themselves that I should take less

less care to conceal myself, when I saw that they believed I was dead: and as they had no doubts of my being still in Paris, they caused this narrative to be cried through the streets for several days, that it might reach my ears; and it did reach my ears, but without deceiving me; for as I knew that none of my relations or friends had furnished Hebert with this article, I had no doubt of its being a snare laid to entrap me; for which reason I was more cautious than before. The narrative was intitled, "*A circumstantial account of the justice of the people exercised at Versailles upon the aristocrats and counter-revolutionists, who were prisoners at Orleans; with the execution of Brissac, de Leffart, de Bertrand, &c. &c.*" And here follows the account given in this narrative of my last moments:

" The next in turn was the late minister Bertrand, a most incorrigible liar and audacious conspirator. He gave furloughs to the naval officers who had emigrated, asserting, with effrontery, to the legislative assembly, that they were at their posts. Their

pay was transmitted to them to Coblenz, while our ships were left without officers. He attempted, by intreaties and by his usual falsehoods, to move the enraged people. ' Generous citizens, (said he,) it is true we are guilty, and that, tempted by ambition, we have been the enemies of the people: but although our criminal conduct justly enrages you, remember, at the same time, that you are victorious, and that we are your prisoners. Let our repentance disarm you.' All was in vain. His prayers could not disarm the people. He was put to death, and cut in pieces."

This publication, which unfortunately was as true in the other particulars, as it was false in those which related to me, I thought worth preserving, because, in various emergencies which might naturally occur before I could escape out of France, such a proof of my death might be the means of saving my life.

The Jacobins, enraged that they could not wreak their vengeance on my person, exercised it on my possessions. I was informed,

formed, that towards the latter end of the month of September, one of their most infamous agents, named Alard, who unfortunately was at that time mayor of the principal *seigneurie* which I possessed in Languedoc, (Montesquieu de Vovestre,) had employed a hundred brigands whom he commanded, to burn the chateau in which my father and my family resided part of the year, and in which all my papers were deposited. My father was at that time at Thoulouse, oppressed with grief on account of the critical situation in which all his family was, and peculiarly anxious for my brothers, during the massacres of September. Time had lessened the energy of character, without diminishing the sensibility of this venerable old man. Upon the point of sinking under the weight of so many distresses, he was suddenly informed that his chateau was reduced to ashes. This additional calamity overpowered his remaining strength. He was seized that very day with a burning fever, and expired in less than a week.

While I was shedding bitter tears for the death of an affectionate father, whose favorite I was, I learnt that the Jacobins had the barbarity to triumph at this news, and to congratulate each other, that as the succession now descended to me, it could no longer be kept from their rapacity. Alard, their worthy instrument, wanted immediately to sequester my estate, upon the pretext of my having emigrated ; and his zeal, on this occasion, doubtless contributed to procure him the honour of being elected member of the convention. In fact, there were very few villains in the kingdom more worthy than him of those places, which were at this time there-compence of crimes. If, at this period, law had not been without force, my formal refusal (*repudiation*) of the succession of my father would have transmitted his estate to my brothers : but all the people, to whom I applied for this purpose, refused their assistance, for fear of being accused of the new crime of *leze-nation*.

Hitherto I had cherished hope that some movement within the nation, excited perhaps

by

by the march of the duke of Brunswick, might take place in favour of the king: but these last hopes were entirely destroyed by the extraordinary news of Dumourier's success, and the retreat of the Prussians, which filled me with the more regret, because the known ferocity of some of the leading deputies to the convention, and the republican principles of others, made me despair of being able to be of any service to the king, especially as I was under the necessity of remaining in the closest concealment.

I was undecided what I should do, when the means of escaping out of the kingdom was offered me by a woman, who was sincerely devoted to the king, although a different opinion has been entertained of her on account of some of her connections. I abstain from naming this lady, lest her generous conduct towards me should bring her into trouble. During my administration, she had given me frequent information, of a nature very useful to the royal

family, to whom she was sincerely devoted, although considered by many a decided democrat.

On the present occasion, she sent me word, by my brother the chevalier, that if I intended to escape to England, she would procure me a passport, undertaking, at the same time, to find me the means of going safely to Boulogne, where she would recommend me to a correspondent of her's, a man of intelligence, who had already embarked two of her friends under false names, and who would do the same thing for me.

I accepted this proposal with great eagerness, only I desired to know how it was to be executed. My brother soon after brought me a passport, which had been originally destined for one of her friends who had paid a hundred louis for it, but who had embarked without its being examined; and, as he had never been asked for his passport, he had returned it to her, that it might assist the escape of some other friend. The date

date of this passport was two months old, and its form was quite different from that which had been since adopted: there were likewise several corrections necessary for adapting it to my appearance, instead of the person for whom it was originally intended. My *valet de chambre* being extremely expert at this, and his writing being very like that in the passport, the corrections gave me less uneasiness than the oldness of the date. With regard to the means of getting safe to Boulogne, the lady proposed to send me there by an old servant of her family, who, at that time, drove the mail from Paris to Calais.

This proposal seemed to me so favourable, that I resolved to attempt it, notwithstanding all my uneasiness about the form and the age of my passport. The 12th of October was the day fixed upon for my departure. I had an interval of six days to prepare for this journey. In this interval, having procured the printed form for the new passports, I without scruple fabricated one for my own use.

The danger of crossing Paris in broad-day light, was what I had chiefly to fear. My family, who were extremely alarmed, thought I must be discovered, except I wore an old black wig very ill dressed.

After a careful research, they at last found one, which they thought would answer the purpose. It is certain that it made a horrible alteration in my appearance, and it was impossible to recognise me: it had, however, this inconvenience, that it made me extremely remarkable; and no patrole or sentinel could see so extraordinary and ridiculous a head, without being convinced that it was intended as a disguise. This consideration made me throw aside the wig, and I adopted no other disguise than having my hair extremely ill dressed and disordered, and wearing a round hat and a brown great coat.

It was in this dress that I set off on the 12th of October, at ten o'clock in the morning, from my landlord's house. I had four travelling companions; one of them

was

was the same Mr. Thomas formerly mentioned ; he was dressed in the uniform of a subaltern officer of the national guards ; three others were unacquainted with me, and one of them likewise wore an uniform. The night before, I had sent a bag with my clothes to the mail-carrier for Boulogne ; and having hired a hackney coach for St. Denis, I traversed Paris with these four men : we had agreed, that if we were questioned, we should say that we were going to dine at Pierrefite, near St. Denis, and to view a house which was to be sold.

We arrived at that village, which is a quarter of a league beyond St. Denis, without meeting with any thing disagreeable ; I dined there at the house of an old Italian architect, who was devoted to the lady who had procured the passport, and had advised me to wait at his house for the arrival of the mail for Boulogne.

The mail-carrier let me know the exact hour at which he would pass the heights of Pierrefite ; I set out for the road a few minutes sooner. He arrived there almost

at

at the same instant with me, having opened for me his chaise, (*brouette*,) into which I had a great deal of difficulty to squeeze myself; for he alone could fill three-fourths of it. It was, therefore, impossible to travel less at our ease than we did; and I should never have been able to hold out if the journey had been longer, or if my conductor had not gone out of the chaise at every stage to refresh himself with a glass of brandy. During these moments of respite, I was able to relieve my legs and arms, which were quite numbed by the violent pressure.

I arrived at Boulogne on Saturday night, and I got out at the inn where the mail puts up, so overcome with fatigue, and with the bruises I had received, that I could hardly stand upon my legs.

I instantly asked for a bed-chamber; for although I had not eat the weight of four ounces of bread the whole journey, yet I had more need of a bed than of any thing else.

Next

Next morning I wrote as expeditiously as possible to Mr. N——, citizen of Boulogne, to whom the lady had recommended me, under the name of Vandeberg, a merchant of Liege, the name mentioned in my passport. I informed him of my intention of passing to England in the first packet-boat; and I begged that he would call upon me, to assist me in making the arrangements necessary for my departure.

In less than a quarter of an hour after this letter was sent off, the maid of the inn brought into my room a man six feet high, whose name she did not announce, and who was dressed in the uniform of the officers of the national guards. I was at first extremely surprised, and even alarmed, at this visit. I could not conceive how this man was so quickly informed of my arrival, and what he had to say to me of so much importance, as to induce him to visit me in spite of the rain which was then pouring down. I was afraid that this was one of those fatal domiciliary visits from

which

which I had with so much difficulty escaped when at Paris. However, I rose from my seat, and went up with confidence to him, saying, with apparent ease, "Pray, what is your busines with me, sir?"

"Is it Mr. Vandeberg to whom I have the honour of speaking?" said he.

"Yes, sir, that is my name."

"Ah! sir," replied he, after looking at me stedfastly, and then making me a profound bow, "I have now the honour of recollecting you perfectly."

Believing that he took me for some other person whom I happened to resemble, I answered, "I fancy, sir, you are mistaken; for I do not remember ever having seen you before."

"Oh! sir, I am sure of what I am saying, though I had only the honour of seeing you once, and but for half a quarter of an hour."

"Where do you think you saw me?" resumed I. "Was it at Liege, at Amsterdam, at ——"

"No, sir, not so far off as that ; it was at Paris, last January, in the *Rue Royale*, at the marine hotel."

"Are you very sure ?"

"Oh ! very sure, sir."

"In that case you have a better memory than me."

"Be under no uneasiness, sir ; for I remember you, only because I cannot forget your goodness in terminating, in one morning, the business for which I had the honour to see you. It was an affair which took me to Paris, and which I feared would detain me there fifteen days at least ; but, through your goodness, I was able to set out the next day after my arrival. I shall be very happy to shew my gratitude by serving you in any way I am able."

"But who are you, and how came you to know of my being at Boulogne ?"

"Your letter informed me. My name is N——."

"Oh ! you are Mr. N——. Why did not you tell it me ? I had not the least

con-

conception of it ; your uniform put that quite out of my head."

" I am obliged to wear this uniform, because I am an officer in the national guards ; and I am likewise a municipal officer, and ready to obey all M. Bertrand's orders in either capacity."

I accepted his offers very eagerly, and immediately put his good intentions to the proof, in requesting that he would endeavour to get one of my passports examined, that I might not be obliged to present myself to the municipality, where I might meet some zealous patriot with as good a memory, but without the same inclination to oblige me ; and who, on the contrary, might think that to arrest me, was a great act of civism."

Mr. N—— said, " What you demand, has never yet been granted to any one ; and it is more difficult to obtain it now than ever, on account of the last orders which have been transmitted to us by the committees at Paris. We are expressly

com-

commanded to admit no passport without comparing the description with the person, and without likewise examining if he resembles the descriptions which have been sent us of suspected persons."

" It is exactly this examination which I wish to avoid; I perceive it is not an easy thing, but I hope that your zeal and address will enable you to do me this service. You may say, without a falsehood, that this M. Vandeberg is known to you, and one of your best friends; that an excessive bad cold hinders him from going out during this rainy weather; that you will answer for the exactness of the description in the passport with my person. The assertions of a municipal officer, and one who is likewise an officer of the national guards, cannot be suspected, provided you appear to think that what you ask can meet with no opposition. And, depend upon it, you will meet with none; only put on a little effrontery, and you will succeed."

“Very well, sir, I shall try ; and you may depend upon my doing all I can. What I most fear is, lest they should discover, that the description of M. Bertrand resembles that of M. Vandeberg.”

“Do not you know,” said I, “that M. Bertrand was massacred at Versailles with the other prisoners from Orleans?”

“That report was circulated,” said he ; “but those who do not believe in ghosts, may take it into their heads that it was ill-founded.”

“I will give you a proof that might convince an infidel,” answered I, smiling, and then shewed him the narrative of the massacre of Versailles ; and, when he read the article respecting me, he laughed heartily. I put my two passports into his hands, that the municipality might choose that which they liked best.

“All this is very lucky,” said he, as he went away ; “I shall now go to the town-house ; and I hope to return before dinner with good news.”

He

He had not left me above two hours, when he came back to my room triumphing, with the two passports in his hands. The municipality had admitted *that* which they thought the most regular, which was precisely the one I had forged.

I then requested that M. N—— would hire a place for me in the first packet-boat which should sail for England ; and that he would make all the arrangements requisite for my departure. He did every thing with the greatest zeal and activity ; but unfortunately the wind was adverse, and there was no appearance of its changing.

The bad weather continued for five days more. I remained carefully shut up in my room, lest I should meet some one who might recognise me.

I only saw one old gentleman, who was to go with me to Dover ; from whence he was to cross again to Ostend, and proceed to Germany, to carry money to certain *émigré's*. This old gentleman had already made several journeys for the same pur-

pose; and he employed a part of his fortune in support of the emigrant nobility.

On the 19th of October, the rain, which had continued incessant during five days, ceased; the wind calmed, and the most brilliant sun announced a beautiful autumnal day. About nine o'clock in the morning, M. de N—— sent to give notice, that the packet-boat, in which he had taken my place, was to sail betwixt ten and eleven. I got safe into it without being asked for my passport; so that I might have saved myself the trouble of forging one.

The old gentleman embarked in the same packet-boat; and we mutually exhorted each other to wait patiently till Providence was pleased to send us a breath of wind. It was not till twelve o'clock that we had the pleasure of seeing our sails slightly agitated; and, by slow degrees, swell so as to carry us out. It seemed to me, that I now breathed more freely than I had done for some time; but my heart was deeply affected

feeted as the coast of France disappeared by slow degrees from my view.

The idea of flying my country, like a criminal, under a borrowed name ; of being separated, perhaps for ever, from all who rendered life desirable, filled my soul with inexpressible anguish.

Le bateau est arrivé à Boulogne ce matin  
et je suis descendu pour vous dire que je  
suis content de ce que vous allez faire  
à Londres.

## C H A P. XXXVII.

Il meurt de plaisir d'entendre que vous  
allez bien et que vous allez faire ce que  
vous avez promis.

*Singular conversation with a passenger, be-  
tween Boulogne and Dover.—My arrival  
in London.—Wait on Lord Grenville.—  
Two commissaries from Paris come to ar-  
rest me at Boulogne, a little after my de-  
parture from that town.—My letter to the  
convention.*

AFTER three hours' sailing, in which we made but little way, a perfect calm succeeded. The sky became cloudy, and the coast of France was entirely obscured by a thick fog, although we were still at no great distance from it. The conversation of the passengers, in which I heard myself named with exaggerated eulogiums, drew me out of the deep reverie into which I had been for some time plunged. Two of my travelling companions, whom I had at first taken for Englishmen, because I had hitherto

hitherto only heard them speak English, now began a conversation in French with the old gentleman above mentioned, upon the massacres of the 2d of September. One of them was a Frenchman. He related many horrible circumstances; some altogether incredible, but which it was impossible to contest with him, as he repelled every doubt by declaring that he did not speak from hear-say, but from facts to which he had been himself a witness. He spoke as if he had seen every thing with his own eyes.

From the massacres of Paris, he passed to that of the Orleans prisoners at Versailles. He did not mention this as an eye-witness, but only as having heard all the circumstances from an intimate friend, on whose veracity he could depend.

Having exhausted that subject, he gave us a very circumstantial account of my death, and of the regret it had occasioned to many persons of worth, particularly to himself, to his family, and to all his friends. He then pronounced my eulogium with such enthusiasm, that

I could not help smiling. My panegyrist, observing this, was rather offended.

"How, sir!" said he, drily. "You laugh. Do you think I have said too much?"

"Yes, sir," answered I, "I own I do think that you have gone rather too far. I know M. Bertrand probably better than you do."

"You may perhaps know his figure better than I do," said he, "as I never saw him: but with regard to his conduct, I defy you to know more of that, for nobody has been more attentive to it than I have been."

"I know something of his conduct also," replied I. "It was such as every honest man would have observed in his situation. He did no more than his duty; and I see no great merit in that."

"What do you call no great merit? Sir, I am convinced, that if all had conducted themselves like him, there would have been no revolution in France."

"No

"No revolution ! Why the revolution had taken place before he was appointed to the administration."

"Well," replied he, "M. Bertrand would have moderated it ; he would have prevented the catastrophe of the 10th of August : but he had to combat with the assembly and with the Jacobins.— What could he do more than what he did ?"

"Perhaps," added I, "it would have been better that he had not done so much."

"That is very easy to say : but I will venture to stake my life that you will not find one in a hundred of your opinion, except amongst the Jacobins."

"Perhaps you think," said I, "that I belong to that society ?"

"To tell you the truth," answered he, "I rather suspect it."

"Well," resumed I, "you will be convinced to the contrary, when I assure you, that M. Bertrand has not a better friend upon earth than myself ; that I have no interest in blaming him ; and that no person

sympathised more sincerely than I did in his misfortunes."

" If that be the case, sir, you really astonish me."

" In what ?"

" Because, for so affectionate a friend, you seem to have been very soon comforted for his death, if it ever gave you any uneasiness, since you laugh when it is mentioned."

" Oh ! that is perhaps owing to my not being perfectly convinced of his death."

" What do you mean, sir ? Were you not at Paris ?"

" I only left it on the 12th of this month."

" And did you not read, in all the journals, that M. Bertrand was massacred at Versailles with the Orleans prisoners ?"

" Yes, sir ; and I also heard his death proclaimed in the streets, and I have a printed relation of it in my pocket : but I doubt the fact, notwithstanding all this."

" And I, sir, who am not more credulous than my neighbours, am, unhappily, but too

too well assured of the truth of it ; because, over and above the testimony of the journals, one of my friends was at Versailles at the time, and saw him massacred. Yes, sir—yes, sir, you may laugh as you please, but my friend, who is a man of veracity, was an eye-witness, and told me of it."

"Don't be offended," answered I, laughing : "but most certainly, if your friend imagined that he saw M. Bertrand, there must be some fault in his vision ; he cannot view objects justly."

"This is rather too much. I have nothing to answer to such jokes," said he, turning from me angrily.

"I protest, sir, that I am not in jest ; and I only wish to make you easy respecting the fate of M. Bertrand, as you seem interested in him ; and you may rely on what I say, that he is alive, and in good health."

"Can you suppose, sir, that your opinion or assertion alone is sufficient to make me easy ? I should be very happy indeed to have good grounds for believing that M. Bertrand is not dead. I am not rich, but

but I would at this moment give five hundred louis to be assured of it."

" You certainly have acquired the right of being assured of his safety at a cheaper rate ; and after thanking you, in M. Bertrand's name, for your praises, for your regret, and even for your anger, I must inform you that he is not dead, but in very good health ; that he is at this moment going to England in the same packet-boat with you ; and, in short, that it is M. Bertrand himself who has the honour of speaking to you."

" How, sir !—M. Bertrand safe ! Is it with him I have been conversing ?—Ah ! sir, I ask a thousand pardons.—How happy I am to see you ! But how have you escaped from these monsters ?"

The good man was so transported with joy, that he cried and laughed in the same breath. When he had recovered his emotion, I told him my adventures, which he listened to with the greatest attention. From that moment he attached himself to me, and offered me his services in England, where he had passed the greatest part

of

of his life. I did not hesitate in accepting his offer, and he seemed as much pleased and obliged as if I had rendered him an essential service \*.

During our conversation there arose a fresh gale of wind, and we arrived at Dover about nine o'clock at night. I set off for

\* To this gentleman I am indebted for my acquaintance with a brave and worthy British general, (Robert Melville,) in whom I have found, not only the hospitable virtues which have entitled his country to the gratitude of all the French emigrants, but also the most warm and tender interest in the fate of our unfortunate monarch. This gentleman was, indeed, scarcely less shocked at the news of the desperately atrocious murder of Louis XVI. than if he had been a natural-born Frenchman, the most gratefully and zealously devoted to his majesty. I scarcely ever see him without his speaking to me in the most sympathetic terms of that catastrophe, and of the virtues of that good king. "Believe me, sir," said he to me, one day, "that when your countrymen shall be totally delivered from the tyranny of Robespierre, (for the spirit of that monster still attends them,) you will see, that the same persons who, by fear and weakness, have called Louis XVI. *Louis the Tyrant*, and suffered him to be murdered, will justly style him Lewis the *overgood*, and make the day of his death a day of general mourning; an anniversary, which would equally evince the sentiments of true liberty, and of a dignified sorrow worthy of a great nation."

London

London next day; and the news of my late rival made the more impression, as the report of my having been massacred had been generally believed. I was informed by some emigrants, who had been that day at the king's levee, that his majesty had the goodness to express much satisfaction on hearing that I was in London; bestowing, at the same time, very flattering encomiums on my conduct during my administration. Many persons expressed an obliging curiosity of witnessing my reception at court, and begged that I would let them know what day I was to be presented to the king; but I deferred it until I should receive my clothes and linen, which were to be sent me from Paris as soon as my embarkation was known. In the mean time I waited upon Lord Grenville, one of the principal secretaries of state, to beg that he would make my grateful acknowledgments to his majesty and to the ministers, for the satisfaction they had expressed at my safety. Some days afterwards a particular circumstance

stance made me entirely give up the thoughts of appearing at court.

The day on which parliament met, I was, with several other persons, at the window of a house in one of the principal streets through which the king passed, in royal pomp, to the house of peers. Scarce had the king's coach appeared, when the cry of *Huzza! Huzza!* was repeated a thousand times by the populace. On witnessing this universal joy, my mind was painfully recalled to the misfortunes of my king, and the crimes of which my country was the theatre. The striking contrast betwixt the situation of George the Third, blessed by his people, and that of Louis the Sixteenth, imprisoned by his subjects, filled my heart with sorrow; and I hurried from the place, to hide the tears which ran down my cheeks in abundance. From that moment I renounced the idea of being presented to their majesties, as the sight of a king, queen, and royal family, in the full enjoyment of that respect and happiness which are due to their high rank and cha-

racter, would have brought a painful contrast to my memory, which I should not have supported with any degree of composure.

Three days after my arrival in London, I received a letter from a friend at Boulogne, in which he congratulated me on having escaped two commissioners *de la commune* of Paris, who came to Boulogne on purpose to arrest me. They arrived at the inn half an hour after my departure, and demanded that M. de Vandeberg might be delivered up to them.

I do not imagine that the commune of Paris knew that M. de Vandeberg and the ex-minister Bertrand was the same person : but I presume that the spies which were in that inn had written an account of a man called Vandeberg, who kept himself shut up in his chamber ; at the same time describing my person. However this may be, it is certain, that if I had not been embarked, I should have been arrested, carried to Paris, and delivered up to the Jacobins.

After

After having thus secured my life against the dangers which threatened me, the king's situation, and the means of securing my fortune for my children, became the principal objects of my thoughts. The violence of the new assembly had sufficiently appeared. I was convinced that the king's trial was resolved on, and would take place as soon as the promoters of so daring a measure should think the public mind was able to endure it. In this situation of things, as I could not form an idea of what crime they could lay to his majesty's charge, I thought that the best measure I could adopt was to endeavour to keep the public in suspense respecting the justice of any possible accusation; and I expected to succeed by announcing to the convention that I had certain important discoveries to make, the proofs of which I would transmit to them soon.

This was the object I had in view when I wrote the following letter, apparently on the subject of my own emigration:

Friend, two years ago, I wrote to you

lately

VOL. III.

N

To

*To the President of the National Convention.*

at 100 Bouverie St. LONDON, Nov. 6, 1792.

**“ Mr. President,**

“ Although the right of resisting oppression necessarily implies that of escaping from it, when every means of resistance are annihilated ; as it is no less repugnant to my character, than to my principles, to fly from my enemies, and desert my country, I am eager to signify, under my own hand, to the national convention, my temporary absence from the kingdom, and the urgent circumstances which have rendered it indispensable. They are detailed in the acts, the substance of which follows :

“ On the 11th of October, in the year 1792, I Antoine-François Bertrand de Molleville, late minister of state for the marine department, having experienced on the part of all the public officers to whom I addressed myself, the most formal refusal to retain or to expedite any act of mine, from the fear of exposing themselves to danger on my account, I have written the following declaration in my own hand,

until

until circumstances shall permit me to send it in a more authentic form.

" Being myself the object of a persecution as unjust as barbarous, marked out as a person suspected of the greatest crimes, although I have not the slightest offence to reproach myself with, and there is not the shadow of a proof to bring against me, I have been reduced to the necessity of concealing myself for more than two months. I had undoubtedly a right to hope, that after so long a period, the rage of my enemies might have been softened ; but the fortunate accident which preserved me from them, has only served to irritate them the more. Not satisfied with attempts aimed at my person, and exercised against my property, the committee *de Surveillance de la Commune* did not hesitate to order my two brothers to be arrested, without the existence of any accusation, and to be thrown into the prisons of the *Abbaye* and *de la Force*, a few days before the massacre of the prisoners ; and, upon the representation which the youngest of

the two endeavoured to make against the illegality of a groundless imprisonment, the commissary who examined him, made this shocking answer: "People of your rank have so long employed the *lettres de cachet* of despotism, it is now time to make you feel the *lettres de cachet* of the people." The people themselves, however, had the justice, even on the horrible 2d of September, to spare my brothers, and openly to proclaim their innocence. My enemies thus disappointed, attacked me in another quarter, and have completed my misfortunes, having very lately burnt to the ground the *chateau*, which was the principal residence of my family; and all the title deeds, furniture, and effects it contained, were devoured by the flames. My unfortunate father, already broken by the infirmities of age, sunk under these accumulated calamities, and expired a few days after.

"Oppressed by the weight of this last misfortune, and unable to support the idea of having been even the innocent cause of

so great a pecuniary loss to my brothers, I did not hesitate one moment to take the only measure which could indemnify them. In consequence whereof, I have already declared to them, and I again declare, that I renounce the succession to my father in whatever it does or may consist; and that I give my full consent, that it may be divided according to law, as if I no longer existed; and as my present situation deprives me of all the means of giving to this declaration the necessary authenticity to insure its validity, and as the succession to my father is still open, and can no longer remain in suspense, I do hereby promise and oblige myself to find out, as soon as possible, in some foreign, but not hostile country, a public officer, who will receive in trust this present deed, which I conclude with the following solemn declaration: That so far from wishing to abandon my country, where I have left every thing dear to me as a pledge for my return, I shall be very earnest to go back as soon as the impunity of the greatest crimes shall

cease to be regarded as one of the prerogatives of liberty.

“Done at Paris, the day and year aforesaid; and a copy of these presents, written and signed by my own hand, as the original, was delivered by me on the same day to my two brothers, until such time as I should be enabled to send them a more formal deed.

(Signed) “DE BERTRAND.”

“Anxious to fulfil so sacred an engagement, and having, besides, been for a long time desirous of becoming acquainted with so celebrated a nation, I took my departure for England. The first step after my arrival, was to renew, in an authentic form, drawn up by the notary of the *Legation* of France, my renunciation of all claim to my father’s succession, and to send it to my brothers.

“Such are the only motives for my departure. It is indeed perfectly evident, that had the best founded apprehensions for my personal safety been sufficient to induce me to quit France, I should not have delayed

delayed it so long; for I always had the best information concerning the measures which were taken to discover the place of my concealment, and to secure me in some of the prisons previous to the massacres of September, either at *La Force*, the *Abbaye*, or at *Orleans*, before that epoch, in the 2d of September. What then can be the motive of such a continued rancour against me? This is difficult to explain, when it is considered that the continual persecutions experienced by me, during my ministry, produced only one memorial; and that solely founded on three assertions, which appeared to be false by the report itself, as I have proved in my statement to the assembly. It ought to be remembered, that the only object of the assembly's memorial to the king, was to prove, that I did not deserve the confidence of the nation, although this proposition had been formally rejected the preceding evening by a decree passed after the *appel nominal*. If it be possible that any doubts can still remain concerning my innocence,

they will be entirely removed by the very decree of accusation, which was passed on the 16th of August last, against those persons who were in the ministry on the 11th of the preceding November, and consequently against me. That decree is founded solely upon some expressions, as vague as insignificant, written in an unknown hand, on a piece of paper, which they pretended to have found in the king's apartment, on the 10th of August. A man must be pure indeed, and perfectly free from any real error, to have the honour of being accused of an imaginary fault, upon a writing which, from every report, is evidently unworthy of credit.

"It must be acknowledged, however, that at a moment when the laws were without force, justice without ministers, and innocence without support; when the people, thinking they observed conspirators and traitors on every side, and breathed nothing but vengeance; a decree of accusation against ministers might be considered as expedient for appeasing the general ferment.

ment. I allow also, that the same circumstances equally opposed the success of the petitions addressed by me to the legislative body against this decree, four days after it passed; but, at this day, when the re-establishment of the empire of justice, and of the laws, is so ardently desired by every citizen; when the people are sensible of the excesses into which they have been hurried, is it possible that such a decree of accusation can be maintained? It would be consecrating a most shocking injustice; besides, the dignity of the French nation does not permit its representatives to issue a decree of accusation upon suspicions entirely vague, and without a shadow of proof. The most alarming abuse which the members of the national assembly could make of their non-responsibility, would be to trifle with the lives, the liberty, and the honour of their fellow-citizens, in such a manner. What remorse must not those members feel who have rashly promoted, or feebly opposed decrees, by which so many persons, the générality quite innocent,

cent, were thrown into prison ; in consequence of which, they were afterwards put to the most horrid death ?

“ Firmly convinced, that the national convention will not choose to expose itself to similar regrets, I have the honour of addressing to you my remonstrances against the decree of the 16th of August ; and I beseech you, sir, to lay it before the assembly. I would willingly hope that they will attend to it, and that my enemies will not have it in their power to prevent the justice of the assembly, by renewing those calumnies which have served as a motive for all the troubles they have forced me to endure, particularly the inquisitions, as violent as fruitless, made not only at my own house, but also at those of my relations and neighbours, under the pretence of discovering proofs of my supposed criminal correspondence with the court, and of my being an accomplice in the conspiracies, true or false, with which they accuse the royal family. I give you, sir, previous notice, that I shall address, without

out delay, to the assembly an authentic declaration of all the important and unknown transactions which came under my observation during and since my administration, which have any relation to the present circumstances. I will point out the evidences and proofs of all those which the assembly shall be inclined to examine. I will unfold all I know; and what I shall say, may lead to many interesting discoveries.

(Signed) "DE BERTRAND."

*Memorial addressed to the National Convention against the decree of accusation passed the 16th of August 1792, against the old ministers.*

" The powers of accusing without any proof, and of punishing without legal judgment, are the attributes of the most shocking despotism. None of these powers can exist under a free government, in which

the representatives of the nation are in the happy incapacity of violating the rights of men.

" The law ought to be the same to every person, whether it punishes or protects (Declaration of Rights, Art. 6.); and similar faults should be punished with similar chastisements, without any personal distinction. (Tit. ii. Art. 3.)

" The memorial I now present to the convention, is so deeply founded upon the essential bases of natural rights, that it is impossible to reject it without totally annihilating them.

" On the 16th of last August, upon the simple reading of a note pretended to have been found in the king's apartment, and dated the 11th of the preceding November, there was passed without examination, or previous discussion of the form of that writing, or its contents, a decree of accusation against all the persons who composed the then ministry, and consequently against me.

" The

" The note is intitled, ' *A Plan* of the Committee of Ministers, concerted with MM. Alexandre Laméth and Barnave.'

" I must declare and affirm, without danger of contradiction, 1st, That I was never acquainted either with MM. Lameth, nor Barnave: I only saw the latter once at my house, in the beginning of my administration, on the business of the colonies, of which he had been the reporter. I have not seen him since, and am ignorant what has become of him.

" 2dly, I have not the slightest knowledge of the note in question, nor of its contents; and I affirm, that during my ministry, nothing of what is mentioned in that note, was ever spoken of at the council, or at any of the ministerial committees where I assisted.

" This affirmation could, undoubtedly, be of no effect against proof; but, in the present case, I have not the most trifling evidence to combat. In reality, before this writing can be considered as evidence, it

must

must appear to have been written either in the king's own hand, or in that of one of his ministers; for, if the merely being named or marked out in any writing found in the apartment of the king, were sufficient to prove a man criminal, where is there an honest citizen who would be secure? It cannot be forgotten, that on the morning of the 10th of August, the king's apartments were open to all who chose to enter; that it was as easy for them, privately to drop papers there, as it was to carry them away.

“ But even although the note in question had been written by the king himself, or one of his ministers; and that this fact (concerning which the commissioners appointed to open the seals were silent) was completely established, it would still remain for examination, whether the project concerted by the ministers with MM. Barnave and Lameth, was really contrary to the interests of the state; for a project advantageous to the nation, surely cannot appear

appear a crime in the eyes of its representatives, whoever the persons were who planned it.

“ The first article of this note, and the one which has undoubtedly made the most forcible impression, contains only two words.

“ 1. *To refuse the sanction.*

“ Upon this vague expression, I shall content myself with observing, that *the sanction* being a right *essentially inherent* in royalty, and with which the monarch was personally invested by the constitution, not as the head of the executive power, but in the capacity of the representative of the nation, I never saw the exercise of this right submitted to the deliberations of the council. Upon decrees concerning the detail of office, the king heard only the observations which the minister of the particular department made to him; on other matters, he decided according to his information, and his conscience.

“ These facts and principles, the accuracy of which cannot be questioned,

shew

shew how contrary it would be to justice and the constitution, to pronounce a decree of accusation against ministers for an act with which they had no concern, and which was not within the line of their responsibility, whether they were consulted concerning the sanction or not.

“ The four next articles relate to intended measures; some of which never took place.

“ The remainder of this note assigns to the ministers of justice, of foreign affairs, of war, and of the interior, parts to perform which none of them ever acted; and no mention was made in it of the ministers of finance or marine.

“ Thus, even although the paper should be received as authentic, it would be impossible to discover the most trifling evidence against the two last.

“ Behold then to what a writing is reduced, the mere reading of which produced a decree of accusation *par acclamation* against all the ministers in office in the month of last November? It is, undoubtedly,

doubtedly not astonishing, that in moments of confusion and general irritation, the proclaiming a plot, concerted betwixt ministers and persons at that time suspected, should impel the majority of the assembly to the most unfavourable side: but although such an impulse may be justified by circumstances, it will be oppressive in its effects, if the justice of the assembly do not stop them.

“ Fortunately, indeed, the act of accusation has not yet been drawn up, and consequently there is still time to submit to a cool and deliberate examination this anonymous paper, destined to serve as the basis of an accusation, the most important which can be brought before the representatives of the nation, since its necessary effect is at once to stain the characters of six ministers with the suspicion of treason, thereby drawing on them the fury of popular vengeance.

“ In comparing the note in question with the events which happened about the

time of its date, it is obvious it could not refer to any thing but to the message of the 12th of November, the object of which was, in effect, to announce the refusal of the sanction to a decree concerning the emigrants, the proclamation published against them the same day, and the requisitions addressed to the different foreign powers to prevent the assembling of Frenchmen in their dominions; consequently this note, founded on idle conjectures and conversations which preceded the above measures, can only be considered as one of those written hand-bills, so frequent at that time, to serve the purposes of private malice.

“ After having thus demonstrated, that a writing, from every consideration so unworthy the attention of the legislative body, ought still less to serve as a basis for a capital accusation, I will venture to claim in my favour, the benefit of those forms, wisely established and constantly observed, until now, in matters of impeachment. It is

without

without example, before the 16th of August, that a decree of accusation should be passed, even against a single minister, without having the writings and facts, alleged against the accused, examined and verified by a committee, to which the person accused might apply. Even lately, an accusation, probably ill-founded, but of a very serious nature, was brought against M. Servan. The legislative body did not hesitate to refer the examination of it to one of their committees; and until the report which was to be made had completely exonerated him, the assembly was so scrupulous of admitting any opinion unfavourable to M. Servan, that they recalled him to the ministry in that interval.

“ Supported by this example, and by the declaration of the rights of men, which the new order of things has not annihilated, and the 6th article of which says, ‘ That the law ought to be the same for all, whether in giving protection or inflicting punishment; ’ I request that the decree of

the 16th of last August be recalled, and consequently that the note of the 11th of November 1792, said to be found in the king's apartment, be referred to a committee of the national convention, and, on their report, that a decision should be made according to law; and after such examination, if the decree of accusation against me should be confirmed, being as void of fear as of guilt, I will offer myself to trial as soon as the empire of law and justice shall be re-established in France \*.

(Signed) DE BERTRAND."

I certainly had no reason to expect to be considered as an emigrant, after having so solemnly declared the motives which forced me, not to abandon, but to withdraw myself, for a time, from my country; and after declaring that I would even submit to the decree of accusation †, if, upon the re-

\* *Vide* Appendix, No. I.

† The date of this decree being the 16th of August 1792, that alone was a clear proof of its irregularity.

port of the committee to whose consideration it was to be submitted, that decree should be confirmed. Even the atrocious code of Robespierre himself did not comprehend in the class of emigrants those who had no other means than flight to avoid the poniard of the assassin ; and I may venture to assert, that there is no person in France who is not convinced that I should have long since lost my life, if I had remained.

A few days after my departure, which the assembly knew nothing of until they received my letter, all the effects, moveable or immoveable, which belonged to me, or rather to my son, as substituted by my contract of marriage, were seized ; and notwithstanding the right to those effects, which the severest laws against emigration left in my mother, brothers, sister, wife, and children, all of whom remained in France, yet all this property was sold while my family were shut up in different prisons, during the dreadful tyranny of Robespierre. But what seems more extraordinary, all

the remonstrances they have made, and means they have since used, for their recovery, have been ineffectual. Is, then, the singular good fortune of having escaped to a land of freedom, from the fury of the Jacobins, looked upon, in France, as a crime of so deep a die, that my family must suffer for it? Let those villains continue to throw upon me the epithets traitor, infamous person, liar, &c. &c. ; I consider myself as honoured by their reproaches. I have ever been ambitious of their hatred. Thank God, I have well deserved it. I acknowledge that I neglected no opportunity of exposing their wickedness. I did all I could (unhappily my efforts were vain) to save the best of kings, and to spare France the lasting odium of his murder. Such are my crimes. I repeat it—I glory in them; and I am ready to suffer on the scaffold if they can prove any other against me. But what are the crimes of my brothers and my children? Is it that they are suspected

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pected of regretting that my efforts have not been successful? I hope they regret this—I am sure they do; and if such regrets be a crime, I congratulate them in having the worthiest people of every nation, and particularly those of France, as accomplices.

## C H A P. XXXVIII.

*Preparations for the trial of the king.—Vallazé and Mailhe's reports.—Declaration of M. de Septeuil, treasurer of the civil list.—Declaration of M. de Graves, late minister.—M. de Narbonne.—My second letter to the national convention.*

THE same day in which I addressed the letters and papers, mentioned in the foregoing chapter, to the president of the assembly, the deliberations on the king's process were opened, and the opinions, or rather vociferations, of the most atrocious villains of the kingdom, plainly shewed what would be the issue. The four following questions were submitted to the discussion of the assembly:

1st, Are there grounds of accusation against Lewis the Sixteenth?

2d, Can he be tried?

3d, By whom ought he to be tried?

4th, What

4th, What forms ought to be adopted on the trial?

The only difficulty the assembly could have was on the first of these questions; because it could not be decided but upon very plain and important facts, of which the people, whose approbation it was necessary to secure, were capable of judging. Whereas it was easy to render the discussion of the three other questions unintelligible, by overcharging them, as they did, with abstract metaphysical dissertations on the right of nations, on the sovereignty of the people, and on the constitution and the criminal code.

The report made the 6th of November, by Dufriche Valazé, ran chiefly on the first question, namely, whether there were grounds of accusation against Lewis? This consisted entirely of declamations, indecently violent, founded upon vague reports, totally insignificant or unintelligible, upon assertions evidently false, and on acts for which the ministers alone were responsible. The only articles of accusation for which

which they were not responsible, and which the reporter asserted would be supported by authentic papers, were the following :

In the first place, the king's participation in the pretended plot of the marquis de Bouillé against the nation.

Secondly, Transmitting their appointments to the *gardes du corps*, who were at Coblentz.

Thirdly, Favouring the emigrations, and granting pecuniary succours to the emigrants.

Fourthly, The monopolizing of corn, sugar, and coffee, for his own profit.

Fifthly, A design to overturn the constitution, to which he had sworn to be faithful.

Sixthly, The establishment of a new order of knighthood among the emigrants, with the title of *Knights of the Queen*.

The Moniteurs, containing an extract of the report made on the 7th, which only treated of the question of the inviolability, arrived in London on the 12th of October.

I was

I was no sooner informed of this than I searched in my notes for every fact that might tend to diminish the unfavourable impression which the two reports might have produced. I mentioned all these facts in a second letter to the national assembly. M. de Septeuil also addressed a declaration to the assembly, made before a notary, and confirmed by his oath, taken before the mayor of London, attesting, that no appointment had been paid to the *gardes du corps*, nor to any person belonging to the king's ancient household, except to such as shewed him the certificate for residence in France, ordered by the decree of the assembly, although every one of the *gardes du corps*, whether they had emigrated or not, were included in the list presented to the assembly by the reporter ; which lists had been drawn up in this manner, because they had no legal proof of the emigration of any individual among them. But this list, so far from proving that the emigrated *gardes du corps* had received pay, proved precisely the contrary, as their appoint-

appointments were mentioned in the lists as a memorandum, and the money still remained in the chest of the civil list on the 10th of August 1792, conformable to the king's express order sent by M. de la Porte to M. de Septeuil \*.

The chevalier de Graves, formerly minister of the war department, sent, at the same time, from London, a declaration in justification of the king, respecting certain acts which had taken place in his department. M. de Narbonne, his predecessor, with loyal generosity, offered, in a printed letter addressed to the convention, to be responsible for every accusation with which the king was charged ; and he invited all the ancient ministers of France, at that time in London, to take the same step in concert with him : but having seriously considered the matter, it appeared to us as visionary as useless ; because, as ministers, we were of course responsible to the nation for whatever was done in our own department ;

\* *Vide Appendix, No. II.*

and

and it was not possible to conceive that our responsibility would be accepted for what was done out of our department. Although we did not think proper to adopt the proposal of M. de Narbonne, we did not the less acknowledge the generosity of his intentions.

I made my second letter to the convention still more public than the first. Besides 1500 copies printed in London, which I sent to France, there were other editions printed and distributed in Paris the same week. I omitted mentioning, in the course of these Memoirs, the contents of this letter, as I thought it would be proper to insert the letter itself, as an authentic paper connected with the king's trial.

"London, Nov. 16, 1792.

"Mr. President,

"I had the honour of announcing, in my last letter, that I should, without delay, address to you an exact declaration of all the important and unknown facts with which I am acquainted, and which have any

any relation to the present circumstances. I am the more eager to fulfil this engagement, since I learn, from the public papers, that the great question, Whether Lewis the Sixteenth ought to be tried? is at present open for discussion, and that the national convention are disposed to receive lights and proofs from every quarter on that momentous subject. I flatter myself it will receive, with satisfaction, those I now have the honour of addressing to you, because I am firmly convinced that it seeks nothing but truth, and desires nothing but justice. This conviction alone is sufficient to allay the inquietudes of good citizens, and to keep up the hopes of those who, having had opportunities of nearly observing the conduct of Lewis the Sixteenth, and of knowing his virtues, cannot help taking a great interest in his misfortunes.

“ The following, then, are the facts, the truth of which I attest, and of which I can either give or point out proofs:

*On the pretended favours and assistance given  
to the emigrants.*

“ It is published in all the journals and in all the pamphlets, and has been repeated a thousand times from the tribune, that the king always approved of and favoured emigration. This opinion, unsupported by proof, has become general in the kingdom, and is the principal motive of the regicide addresses daily received.

“ Towards the end of October 1791, one of the ministers having informed the king, in full council, of a report, generally circulated, that the emigrants in arms against France, and particularly the body guards, were in the pay of the civil list, ‘ This,’ replied the king, in the firmest tone, ‘ is an egregious calumny, for I have, on the contrary, given the most express orders to M. de la Porte, that none should receive pay but those who were able to shew the certificate required by the decree of last July 1791. I am certain this order is put in execution. It was proposed to me to make

an exception in favour of the *gardes du corps*, but I refused.'

" Notwithstanding this order, the existence of which can be attested by many deputies to whom it was originally communicated, and which must have been found among the papers of M. de Septeuil, they have continued to give out, that the emigrated *gardes du corps* were paid by the civil list ; and this is affirmed as certain, in the 10th and 11th pages of the report made to the assembly at the sitting of the 27th of September last. The reporter was not aware that the only writings cited by him, in support of his assertion, clearly demonstrate its falsehood. The first is a memorial found in the king's writing-desk, in which M. de Poix proposed the paying the whole corps of *gardes du corps* up to the 1st of January 1792. If the king had approved this proposal, he would have affixed his assent to the memorial, and sent it to the intendant of the civil list. Thus, from the circumstance alone of this memorial being found in the king's writing-desk,

without

without any mark of his approbation, is a complete proof that the payment proposed by M. de Poix had not been ordered by the king. As to those orders of payment signed by the king at the bottom of the general lists of the four companies of his guards, it is sufficient to compare those lists with the register of payments, to be convinced, that in reality only those of the *gardes du corps*, who proved their residence according to the form prescribed by the decree, were paid ; and that if the ordinance lists contained all the names, it proceeded entirely from an ignorance of who had, and who had not emigrated. For the same reason the ministers of war and marine, in their respective departments, regulated, in a similar manner, the general lists of the officers of the different corps, without violating the decree concerning the certificates of residence, because its execution was always guaranteed by the vigilance and personal responsibility of the treasurers, conformably to the regulations of this decree. It is also proved, by a letter of M. de Poix,

in the 16th page of the thirteenth collection of papers found in the house of M. de la Porte, that the execution of these orders for payment of the *gardes du corps* was so much retarded, that on the 28th of last January there had been nothing paid of the arrears due for the first six months of 1791.

“ Were I now to cite the letters written by the king, in the beginning of October 1791, to the officers of the army, and of the corps of marines, to induce those who had left the kingdom to return, and to retain those who intended to emigrate, I should undoubtedly be told, that these letters, being the works of the ministers, no conclusion could be drawn from them: but I declare, that the minute written to the officers of marine remained two days in the king’s possession, who, with his own hand, made many corrections in it, some in the margin, others interlined; and this minute, with many other important papers, must have been found in a red port-folio, which the commissioners of the committee of *Surveillance de la commune* carried away from

from my house with my other papers. I must presume that this writing has been suppressed, since there is no mention made of it in the report made to the assembly the 6th of this month. It would, however, be of the more importance to produce this paper, because the corrections in it being the king's own, the free and pure expression of his sentiments may there be found. I have no doubt, therefore, but the national convention feels the necessity of ordering that paper to be searched for and produced.

“ The king expressly commanded me to employ, in his name, every method of persuasion and authority to prevent the emigration of the officers of marine ; and if the execution of this order had not all the success I could have desired, I at least used every exertion in my power ; and am not afraid, on this point, to call upon the testimony of the chief clerks of my office. I cannot, indeed, quote many written proofs, but shall mention one of sufficient weight to render any other unnecessary from me.

A superior officer, of the most distinguished merit, having been forced, by frequent outrages, to give up his command, came to Paris, last February, with the intention of leaving the kingdom. After having in vain attempted, by my advice and exhortations, to dissuade him from his purpose, I mentioned the affair to the king, who authorised me to send him an order, couched almost in similar terms with the old *lettres de cachet*. The words follow:

“ ‘ Sir,

“ ‘ Being informed that your knowledge and experience enable you to give important information concerning the marine service, my pleasure is, that you hold yourself in readiness to furnish the minister of that department with the informations he may require from you. On this account I prohibit you from leaving Paris until further order, under pain of disobedience.

(Signed) LOUIS.

And under, DE BERTRAND.’

“ The

“ The minute of this order, addressed to M. de Marigni, should be found in my office, *bureau des officiers*, amongst the minutes of the month of February. If it has been accidentally withdrawn, M. de Marigni, who has not left Paris, will produce the original.

“ I must here declare, that amongst the officers whom I persuaded to stay at Paris, to insure their not leaving the kingdom, there were some unable to support themselves, to whom the king ordered different sums of money to be paid, sometimes by me, at other times by M. de la Porte. The last which was sent to me by the king, for this purpose, was the sum of 12,000 livres, in the beginning of March 1792. If the national convention be desirous minutely to examine this matter, I can point out to whom the money was given.

“ How then is it possible to reconcile the reproaches which are thrown out against the king, relative to the emigrants, with all these facts, none of which can be disputed ?

*On the treasons and conspiracies in which it is pretended the king had a share.*

“ These names certainly cannot be given to the measures, always weak and insufficient, taken for the personal security of the king, and of which he never failed to prevent the effect, when he observed the avowed assassins accompanied by a party of the people; because, while surrounded by them, he was always confident that he had no danger to fear. We saw him, on the 20th of June, remove from his person those faithful servants who were ready to spill the last drop of their blood in his defence, and present himself, accompanied by four national guards, to the armed multitude, who had come to force open the gates of the palace.

“ It is impossible, at this day, to doubt, that a formidable conspiracy was formed against the court. The deputies Louvet and Barbaroux arrived, and attested this important fact in the tribune, in the sitting of the 30th of October. ‘ It was at Charenton,’

renton,' said they, ' that the conspiracy against the court was fixed to be executed on the 29th of July, but which did not take place until the 10th of August,' (Moniteur of the 1st of November, page 1298. col. 3.) The king having been informed of this, did undoubtedly take some precautions to defend the palace from this impending attack: but as soon as he knew, from the members of the directory of the department, that thousands of the citizens and national guards had joined the conspirators who surrounded the palace, he did not hesitate to deliver himself and family to the national assembly, leaving orders for the Swiss not to fire \*. It is indeed certain, that the

gates

\* When the king had determined to deliver himself up to the assembly, he spoke to the ministers and others, who were around him, these memorable, though too little known words: "Let us depart, gentlemen; there is nothing for us to do here." This was certainly giving the clearest and most positive order to stay no longer at the palace, since nothing was to be done there. And if this order had (as it ought) been officially conveyed to the Swiss officers and guards, they would have all retired; the entry to the palace would have been left open; and though perhaps it might

gates of the Court Royal were forced without any resistance on the part of the Swiss, who did not fire until five of their companions had been massacred at the bottom of the great stair. The events of the 10th of August can, no more than those of the 20th of June, furnish the slightest cause of accusation against the king. It is therefore necessary to look for proofs in his conduct prior to these periods. But it is impossible, with any share of candour, to form conclusions against him from letters, memorials, or plans, addressed to him, and which

have been demolished, yet not a musket would have been fired, or a drop of blood shed. Unfortunately this order was not conveyed to the Swiss. From thence it followed, on the one hand, that the Swiss, the national guards, and all those who had repaired to the palace to defend the king, believed he was only anxious about his personal safety, and complained that he had abandoned them; while, on the other, the people believed that the king, at his departure, had ordered the resistance and firing which happened. Such is the origin of the suspicions and clamours against the pretended treasons of the king, and the conspiracies of the court. These details are corroborated by so many ocular witnesses, that it is impossible I can ever call their truth in question. They prove that the reproaches against the king are not better founded on one side than on the other.

were

were found, or said to be found, either in the palace or the house of M. de la Porte. If treasonable or criminal writings could involve the persons to whom they are addressed, the lives of the most innocent and most virtuous of mankind would always be in the power of the most wicked.

“ With regard to the numerous writings, the impressions of which were paid out of the civil list, and which are quoted as so many proofs of treason, it is sufficient to remark, that before the abolition of royalty, the ante-republican writings were so much the less reprehensible, that at the memorable fitting of the 7th of July last, the assembly decreed unanimously, and by acclamation, that those who should propose a republican government, or the establishment of two chambers, should be devoted to public execration. The violent writers on both sides were indeed equally distant from the spirit and principles of the constitution; and their incendiary productions supported and maintained the agitation of the people. It was incumbent on the king to turn his attention

to

to the serious inconveniences which must have resulted from hence. Obliged by his oath to maintain the constitution by every possible means, his authority and his duty prompted him to choose as one of those means, the instructing of the people by prudent constitutional writings, which might operate as antidotes to the dangerous pamphlets daily published. It is, however, certain, that both my colleagues and myself considered it as our duty to give this advice to the king, and accordingly we often did give it. Thus it is very possible such an order was given to the intendant of the civil list. As to the method in which it was executed, every body must be sensible the king could not possibly enter into all the detail of the business. Besides, it is an established principle, that the most culpable execution of a lawful order can never involve the person who gives that order, but only he who executes it. An order to distribute prudent and constitutional writings was certainly legal. The king had the right of giving such an order, and he af-

suredly gave no other. But the following facts personally concern the king, and from them we can judge of his true sentiments.

#### FIRST FACT.

“ I shewed the greatest reluctance to accept the ministry ; and I cannot deny that my principal reason for this reluctance was my uncertainty of the real sentiments of the king relative to the constitution. He was informed of this ; and when I was presented to him, on the 3d of October, by the minister of the home department, he addressed me, in his presence, in the very words which follow :

“ ‘ I know your uneasiness, and do not blame your desiring to know how it is expected that you should conduct yourself. I now inform you, that I do not pretend to consider the constitution as unexceptionable. I am even convinced, that had not the assembly prohibited the receiving my observations, it would have adopted the principal alterations which I would have proposed.

proposed. But that is now over. I have accepted the constitution in its present form. The general opinion is in its favour ; we can therefore no longer think of changes, until experience shall make us feel the necessity of them ; for force can do nothing against opinion. The success of this experience depends upon the fidelity with which the constitution is carried into execution ; and it is my intention to execute it as completely and as well as possible. Such, then, is the line of conduct I have marked out for *myself*, and I require my ministers not to depart from it. If the means for carrying it into execution may appear insufficient, or if they experience embarrassments, let them appeal to the assembly.'

" The queen, to whom I was presented the same day, spoke to the same purpose ; and concluded with saying, ' Observe the plan the king has adopted ; I think it is the only reasonable one, and hope you will not make him change it.'

" I affirm this fact upon my honour and conscience, and will support this affirmation

tion with my oath, which I offer to renew before whatever person, and in whatever form, the assembly shall think proper to prescribe. Upon my return home, I immediately made a memorandum of what the king and queen had said. This memorandum, dated the 3d of October, was in the same red port-folio which the commissioners of the committee *de Surveillance de la commune* carried away. If the national convention think proper to order that it should be searched for, it will not be difficult to have it laid before them.

## SECOND FACT.

“ Towards the end of December last, or the beginning of January, an old officer, retired from the service, came to consult me, at the office of marine, upon a proposal which had been made to him, the evening before, to enter into an association with some gentlemen, to escort the king, who intended, as they said, soon to leave the kingdom. The person who made this proposal to him introduced himself at his house

under the title of a *marechal de camp*, and gave him twenty-four hours to reflect on the subject. I advised the person who gave me this information to shew a disposition to join the association, provided they would explain to him the whole of their plan, their means of executing it, and inform him of the persons who were engaged in it. I expressly enjoined him to forget nothing they might tell him, and particularly to make himself acquainted with the name and residence of this *marechal de camp*. He promised to acquaint me soon with the result of his second conversation. He accordingly gave me, the very next day, a detailed account of what passed. I took an exact memorandum of it, which I read the same night at the council. The king was full of indignation, and ordered the minister of the home department immediately to denounce this association to the directory of the department, and to enjoin him to make every possible search after this pretended *marechal de camp*, to watch him narrowly, and even to seize his person, if there

there should be occasion. As this letter was instantly written by M. Cahier de Gerville, and sent directly after the council, it is possible that he did not keep a memorandum of it: but the original may be easily found among the papers of the directory of the department. The inquiries ordered by the king were carefully made. They discovered the usual residence of this man, but he had concealed himself in such a manner, that it was not possible to seize him. It appeared, moreover, by the accounts obtained at the police-office, concerning him, that he was a worthless, wrong-headed fellow. But whatever truth there is in this, the conduct of the king, in this affair, proves, at least, that he did not favour associations formed under pretence of consulting his personal safety.

### THIRD FACT.

“ In January last, M. Cahier de Gerville, reading in the council a rough draught of a proclamation, the king interrupted him at the expression, “ *the love of my people*,” and desired

desired him to correct it by inserting the words, “the love of *the French people.*” ‘I can no longer,’ added he, with emotion, and his eyes swelled with tears, ‘I can no longer say *my* people: but they cannot prevent that from being the expression of my heart.’

“ This interesting fact can be attested by the ministers who then composed the council; and I require all those who have been in it, either before or since, to declare whether they did not observe, in many instances, that one of the most prevailing sentiments with the king was that of a most tender and affectionate attachment to the French people. It is not yet forgotten, that on the day of his arrival from Varennes, one of the principal officers of his household expressing his regret at the ill-success of that expedition, and particularly at the increase of credit and power which it would give to the assembly, the king immediately made this remarkable answer: ‘So much the better, a thousand times; so much the better, provided it conduces to the happiness of the people.’

## FOURTH FACT.

“ At the sitting of the 6th of this month, the reporter Valazé read a note, found in my house, concerning a new order of knighthood called that of the *queen*; and in order to give this writing (which justly excited the risibility of the assembly) more importance, he said it was found in my portfolio. The reporter Valazé is mistaken; and if the assembly will order the verbal process, which took place at the examination of my papers, to be looked into, it will appear, that this writing was not found in any of my port-folios, but in a different place, which I shall not name. It would have been difficult to have read it, had they not separated it from a letter which was inclosed under the same seal. This letter, dated the beginning of September or October 1790, was nearly in the following terms :

“ ‘ I send you the note which I mentioned the day before yesterday. I must forewarn you, that I had it from one whose

fancy is a little exalted ; so you may believe what you please of it.'

" The place in which it was found proves that I had formed the same judgment concerning it with the national convention.

" The members of the committee *de Surveillance de la commune*, who spent nine hours in examining these papers, found also a list of an Austrian committee, composed of about thirty fictitious names. They were eager to seize that writing, which they at first considered as a most important discovery. Fortunately, however, the key to those names was written in the second column of the same page, and contained the names of MM. Syées, Condorcet, Brisfot, Robespierre, &c. &c. But had this key been written upon a different sheet, and could they have as easily separated it from this list as they did the note concerning the order of *Chevaliers de la Reine*, from the letter above mentioned, they might then have employed the list as a strong proof of the existence of an Austrian committee.

" Such

“ Such then are the facts which I thought it incumbent on me to make known to the assembly. Their accuracy will be established by the proofs which I cite, which can be verified by the witnesses whom I point out. I should have had a much greater number to present, if the catastrophe of the month of September had not driven from France, or destroyed, the persons who could have attested the truth.

(Signed) DE BERTRAND \*.”

\* *Vide* Appendix, No. III.

## C H A P. XXXIX.

*The convention resumes the discussions respecting the king's trial.—Several emigrants request to be allowed to appear in his majesty's defence.—Certain papers on that subject addressed by me to the minister Garat, requesting him to transmit them to the king.—Means used with success to abate the fury of Danton.—A letter to M. de Malesherbes.—His answer.—The declaration of M. de Bouillé.—Second letter of M. de Malesherbes.—Denunciation of prevarications in the king's trial.—Answer of M. de Malesherbes respecting M. de Bouillé's declaration.*

THE eagerness and satisfaction with which all publications, favourable to the king, were read, multiplied these writings daily, and animated the hopes of the royalists so much the more, as the convention,

tion, alarmed and uncertain of the real sentiments of the people, had thought proper to suspend the discussion relating to his majesty's process, for some days; and it was only taken up, upon a motion made on the 23d of November, by Couthon, one of the wickedest villains of this assembly.

"The departments are astonished," said he, "that the convention has suspended the discussion upon the late king. I know that all traces of royalty vanished when the republic was proclaimed: but foreign nations observe you; your enemies watch you; and the nation claims the justice which is due to it. I do not desire you to dedicate your whole time to this affair: but I request you will assign two days in every week to it, commencing from Wednesday the 28th of November."

This proposal was decreed.

As soon as we heard this distressing news, some of the most distinguished orators of the first assembly, namely, Messieurs de Cazales, Malouet, and Lally, addressed to

the assembly a request to be included in the number of the king's advocates. Although there was not much probability that their request would be granted, Messieurs Malouet and Lally prepared their pleadings. That of M. de Malouet being finished in a few days, and appearing to me very much calculated to produce a good effect in Paris, and throughout the kingdom, I published it at my own expence, and sent two thousand copies into France; I also addressed them to all the departments, and to the principal municipalities. I added an address to the citizens, by the chevalier de Graves, which was also printed.

As these different writings contained a solid refutation of the imputations raised against the king, in the reports of Mailhe and Valazé, I inclosed them within a cover, on which I wrote the following words, "Writings in defence of Lewis the Sixteenth," I sent this packet to Garat, minister of justice, with a formal requisition that he would deliver it to the king. This same packet contained a copy of the decla-

ration of the chevalier de Graves, and the copy of another declaration which the marquis de Bouillé proposed making, relative to the journey to Varennes, and the employment of the money which the king had ordered to be remitted to him upon that occasion.

When the king's process was first deliberated upon in the convention, Danton, the infamous Danton, whose services had been so highly paid by the civil list, was one of those who shewed the most violence and inveteracy. This alarmed me greatly, because the popularity which that villain then enjoyed gave him great influence in the assembly. My ardent desire of saving the king made me consider every measure as justifiable which tended to that end ; and I made no scruple of employing falsehood in order to tame the fury of that monster. On the 11th of December I sent him the following letter :

“ You ought no longer to remain ignorant, sir, that amongst the papers entrusted to my care, about the end of last June, by

the late M. de Montmorin, and which I have brought to this country with me, I find a note of different sums, which you received from the funds for secret expences of the foreign department. The occasions on which you received these sums, and the different dates, are specified; as also the person who negociated that affair. Your connection with this person is clearly proved by a letter in your own hand, pinned to the note in question, which is entirely in the hand-writing of M. de Montmorin.

“ I have not hitherto made any use of those papers; but I warn you, that they are joined to a letter I have written to the president of the national convention; and which I send by this same courier, inclosed to a confidential friend, with orders to send the letter to the president, and to cause your billet and the note to be printed, and placarded in the corner of every street, if you do not conduct yourself in the king’s affair as a man who has been so well paid ought to do. But if, on the contrary, you

exert yourself, to render him the services which you have in your power, be assured they will not pass unrewarded. You need have no uneasiness with regard to this letter, as nobody shall know that I have written to you.

(Signed)      BERTRAND."

The truth of this matter was, that M. de Montmorin had communicated the affair to me, and shewed me the papers, but never gave them into my hands, as I had asserted to Danton, who, knowing the intimacy in which I had been with M. de Montmorin, could not doubt, after what I had written, of my having them in my possession. I received no answer to my letter; but I saw by the public papers, that two days after that in which he must have received it, he caused himself to be deputed to the northern army, and did not return to Paris till the day before sentence was pronounced on the king. He voted for death at the *appel nominal*; but without

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supporting his opinion, as was his custom, by reasoning, or any discourse whatever.

How much was it to have been wished, that, at this dreadful crisis, some means had also been devised for terrifying or alluring from the capital, Robespierre, Marat, Barrere, Petion, and all these consummate villains, who, that they might assassinate Lewis XVI. with more certainty, got themselves constituted his judges, and associated in their design all the obscure vagabonds of the provinces, by giving them to understand, that this crime was the only means left for them to emerge from want and obscurity, to wealth and power !

The news of M. de Malesherbes being included amongst his majesty's advocates, and of the honours paid him by the people on this occasion, supported our hopes. I lost no time in transmitting, by a sure hand, to this faithful and virtuous friend of the king, all the papers which had been published in London, in favour of the interesting cause which he had undertaken. He

acknow-

acknowledged the receipt of my packet by the following note :

“ M. de Malesherbes received on the 16th of December, from M. Bertrand, two copies of printed letters, and an address from a great many of the French. He likewise received a sealed packet, addressed to M. Tronchet, which probably contains copies of the same papers, and which was sent as directed.

“ M. de Malesherbes already knew the contents of these papers. The very morning on which he received them, he carried them to Lewis XVI. who is so strictly guarded, that he had never heard of M. Bertrand’s letters, although all Paris knew of them. M. de Malesherbes returned again in the evening to the Temple; the prisoner had, by that time, read the letters, and approved of the contents.”

It evidently appeared by this note, that the packets I had addressed to the minister Garat had never been delivered to his majesty; and as they contained papers which might be useful in his defence, I wrote to M. de Malesherbes to desire he would claim them

them at the *Chancellerie*; and foreseeing that these packets might possibly be lost or concealed, I again wrote to M. de Malesherbes, four days after, inclosing a copy of M. de Bouillé's declaration, it being the paper of greatest consequence that I had sent to the king. The contents were as follows:

“ François Claude Amour de Bouillé, formerly general of the army on the Meuse and the Moselle, denominated the centre army, at present in the town of London, deposes upon oath, That in the beginning of May 1790, commanding then in the province of *Trois Évêchés*, he sent his dismission to the minister of war, with a design of quitting the service and the kingdom: that he had hitherto refused to take the oath which the national assembly exacted from all the general officers; but the king wrote to him with his own hand, desiring that he would continue in the service, and acknowledge the new constitution, and take the oath to it, as required by the national assembly, which his majesty declares will be the most effectual means of enabling

abling the said Bouillé to promote the happiness of the people, and to serve his majesty ; which letter from the king, is at present with many other papers belonging to M. de Bouillé in Holland, where he left them on coming from thence to England.

“ He also deposes, That he answered the king’s letter, assuring him that he would obey his majesty’s order, and take the oath as he desired ; but that, in so doing, he made him the greatest sacrifice which could be made by man.

“ The said M. de Bouillé further declares, That, as soon as he was assured of the king’s being arrested at Varennes, he left the kingdom ; that he had, at that time, in his hands six hundred thousand livres, being what remained of the sum of nine hundred and ninety-three thousand livres, which had been deposited in his hands, by order of the king, for the expence of the intended journey of the royal family to Montmedi : that being now deprived of

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the means of any communication with his majesty, he thought it his duty to remit the six hundred thousand livres to Monsieur. But he was afterwards informed by a letter which M. de Choiseul wrote to him by the king's desire, that his majesty was displeased at his having disposed of the money to the princes, as he wished, on the contrary, to have the whole sum returned to himself. This letter from M. de Choiseul is with M. de Bouillé's other papers in Holland.

“ M. de Bouillé further declares, That it was not the king who caused the sum of a hundred thousand livres to be given to M. Hamilton, formerly colonel of the regiment of Nassau ; but that it was M. de Bouillé himself who placed the said sum into Mr. Hamilton's hands, in trust, at the time of the king's evasion from Paris ; and this made part of the original sum, as appears by the receipt.

“ M. de Bouillé moreover adds, That he intends, in a few days, to return to Holland,

land, where he shall be ready, if required, to give up the papers here enumerated.

“ Sworn at the house of the Mayor of London, on the 27th of December 1792.

Signed in my presence,  
JAMES SANDERSON, Mayor \*.”

My conjectures respecting the packet addressed to Garat the minister were well founded, as appears from a letter I received from M. de Malesherbes in the beginning of January, which is too remarkable to be suppressed.

“ I inclose the explanations you require in your last letter to me. You will perceive that I speak of you in the third person; because, not knowing in what part of London you lived, I commissioned one of our countrymen, at present there, to give you the explanations of which I now send you a copy.

“ I was afraid that my letter, which was sent to the post this morning, would be in-

\* *Vide Appendix, No. IV.*

tercepted,

tercepted, I therefore send you a duplicate, as I have been just informed of a person who is setting off for Calais, who will deliver it safely into your hand.

“ You know, sir, that I am now more than ever, with sincere attachment,

“ Your obedient, &c.

“ MALESHERBES.”

The duplicate in question was as follows :

“ The minister of justice received a packet from M. Bertrand, to be delivered to Lewis XVI. containing papers for his justification. The minister, not having any communication with the prisoner, sent the packet to the national convention.

“ The same minister has since received another letter from M. Bertrand, inclosing a packet addressed to me ; upon which was wrote, ‘Papers in justification of Lewis XVI.’ From this superscription, the minister thought it indispensable to send this packet also to the national convention. I received

received this account from the minister himself, when I went to claim the packet.

" As I knew that it had been laid before a committee by the convention, I went to the committee myself ; and, in the name of him whose cause I am to defend, I claimed the packet which was addressed to him ; and, in my own name, I claimed that which was intended for me. I saw that both these packets had been opened. They contained printed papers ; and in one of the packets, (not that which belonged to me,) there were certain papers whose contents I was not permitted to read, although I was told they were authenticated by public officers.

" The committee did not hesitate to give me the printed papers, copies of which I had already ; but they refused to give me the manuscripts, until they were authorised by an order from the national convention.

" One of the committee went to the convention to demand this order. He returned, and told me, ' that upon his demand, they passed to the order of the day ;

but he did not bring back the papers, saying, 'that he had left them on the bureau.' The committee, as far as I observed, made no memorandum of those papers having been carried away, and not brought back.

" I asked these gentlemen by what means I could obtain the possession of these papers? They looked at each other, but gave no answer.

" There the matter rests. I thought it best not to insist upon this subject, while the convention is deliberating on the trial of Lewis \*."

The conduct of Garat was so base and criminal, that I thought it a proper occasion of awakening and exciting the public indignation against the innumerable prevarications which were committed in the course of the king's process. I flattered myself, that it was still possible to rouse the Parisians from that shameful state of stupor and dismay into which the audacious tyranny of the convention had thrown them. In this hope, I addressed the following denun-

\* *Vide Appendix, No. V.*  
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ciation to the assembly. I, at the same time, sent several thousand copies of it to France, and made it as public as possible.

**DENUNCIATION of prevarications committed in the trial of Lewis XVI. addressed to the National Convention by M. Bertrand de Moleville, minister of state in France.**

“ M. President,

“ I denounce to the national convention, to the people of France, and to all Europe, the odious prevarications which have taken place in the trial of Lewis XVI. ; of which I shall here point out the proofs, in order to have justice administered against the guilty.

“ In the course of last month, I sent papers for the defence of Lewis XVI. to the *Garde du Sceau*, with a formal requisition to have them delivered to the king. I thought that the surest means of having them conveyed to their sacred destination was to address them to that minister of

justice. I accordingly wrote the following letter to him :

“Sir,

‘ As it is one of the most sacred duties of a minister of justice to protect those who are under accusation, and to secure to them every means of clearing their innocence, I address these papers to you, solemnly requesting that they may be delivered into the hands of Lewis XVI. As the king’s ancient minister, I feel myself not only authorised, but obliged in duty, to point out those circumstances, during my administration, that tend to overset the principal articles of the accusation brought against him. Such is the object of my demand; and you must be sensible, sir, that you cannot reject it without shewing yourself the accomplice of one of the most atrocious crimes of which there is any example.’

“ A few days afterwards, I sent under cover to the same minister, a packet for M. de Malesherbes, intitled, ‘ Papers for the justifi-

justification of Lewis XVI.' I wrote, at the same time, to advertise M. de Malesherbes of my sending them as above-mentioned to the *Garde du Sceau*, and requiring that he should ask them from that minister.

"I am this day informed, that when, in consequence of that letter, M. de Malesherbes went himself to claim these packets, he was answered by the minister of justice, 'that, on finding they contained papers for the justification of Lewis XVI., he had thought himself obliged to send them to the national convention.'

"I must observe here, that the conduct of the minister of justice, upon this occasion, is of a piece with the barbarous practice of the keepers and jailors of prisons, under the ancient government, in sending all letters or papers, addressed to the prisoner, to the magistrate superintending the prisons. There was then, however, one sure means of having letters, &c. remitted to the prisoner, namely, by addressing them directly to that magistrate. Never-

theless, the constituent assembly justly indignant at the slowness of this means, and the inhumanity of these precautions, formally abolished this custom by the new criminal code. It decreed, that the prisoner should not only receive all papers and memorials which might assist in their defence; but that a copy of their indictment, and of the procedure, should be given them in twenty-four hours after it was demanded, either by themselves, or their counsel. But when I solemnly address myself to the minister, specially appointed to maintain the execution of this law, he does not scruple to infringe it, under pretence that he has no communication with the prisoner.

“ If such a pretext is admitted, every law made for the protection of the accused may be equally violated by his judges themselves, as there is not one of them who has any communication with the prisoner.

“ The conduct of the minister of justice is still more unjustifiable with regard to M. de Malesherbes. Could he possibly imagine it was his duty to deprive the defender

fender of Lewis XVI. of papers sent for his client's justification ? So that the superscription which I wrote upon the packet, as a security for its being delivered, was exactly what determined the minister of justice not only to keep it up from M. de Malesherbes, but to send it to the very committee which conducted the process against the king.

“ Could we suppose a legal court of assassins, what conduct could more naturally be expected from the principal agent of such a court, than to deliver the papers transmitted to him, for the defence of the accused, into the hands of the accusers ?

“ I submit the above considerations to the justice of the national convention, and shall proceed in my statement of facts.

“ M. de Malesherbes went to the committee, and claimed the packets. He found that both had been opened ; they contained printed and written papers : the printed papers were delivered to him ; but he was informed that he could not have the others without an order from the con-

vention. A member of the committee went with the papers to the convention to demand this order. He returned and told M. de Malesherbes, that, upon his demand, the assembly had passed to the order of the day. The member did not bring back the papers ; he left them on the bureau.

“ M. de Malesherbes asked what means he could take to obtain these papers ? the members of the committee looked at each other, but nobody answered him.

“ The striking injustice of refusing to allow M. de Malesherbes so much as to read those papers, must be imputed to the ignorance or guilt of some inferior agent of the committee ; for certainly none of its members would have been accessory to such illegal conduct.

“ I am equally convinced that the assembly would not have passed to the order of the day, on the demand of M. de Malesherbes, had the nature of the request been clearly represented. The fact however is, that those entrusted with the king’s defence, were

were obliged to make it without the assistance of these papers. Unfortunately, they were not the only papers which were kept up ; for it is known, that when the papers in the king's cabinet were seized and carried away, none of the formalities which the law exacts, and the particular care loudly called for, were used to prevent subtraction, alteration, or substitution ; of course, none of those papers can, with the least colour of law or justice, be produced against the king ; yet they are produced, and urged against him, as if all those formalities had been observed ; and, besides, a collection, falsely called complete, of the papers found in his majesty's cabinet, was, by orders of the committee, printed, and profusely distributed over the kingdom ; but this collection, so far from being complete, consisted only of such papers as admitted of malignant interpretations, which were, with much assiduity, given to them, enforced and illustrated by calumnious notes. It is to be hoped, that the authors of these notes are not of the number

ber

ber of the king's judges, no more than those deputies who have betrayed such a thirst for the king's blood, that they have anticipated their votes for his death, by printing and publishing their opinions. According to the laws of all civilised countries, a judge who condemns a person accused, without having heard his defence, thereby loses the right of finally judging him, and is considered as on the same footing with the accuser. Were it possible to suppose that this law could be violated in the case of Lewis XVI. the French nation, fired with indignation against such flagrant injustice, would, undoubtedly, rise like one man, and pour vengeance on the base infringers of a principle so self-evident and sacred. Trusting to the justice of the national convention, I demand that the papers, for the justification of Lewis XVI., which I sent under cover to the minister of justice, may be remitted to the king's defenders; and as to the papers found in the king's cabinet, but which the authors of the printed collection thought it expedient

dient to suppress, I can, from my own certain knowledge, only point out the following :

‘ 1st, A copy of a letter to the king from three deputies of the legislative assembly, of great influence, dated in the month of July last. This letter contained a prediction of the 10th of August; and the recall of Servan, Claviere, and Rolland was proposed as the only means of preventing that catastrophe. As I saw the king in public only, after my retreat from the ministry, I had not an opportunity of reading the letter myself, but I was informed of its contents by persons who have read it. I shall name these persons, and likewise the deputies, as soon as the proofs shall be taken into consideration, and the witnesses in favour of the king are to be heard, according to the indispensable form in all criminal causes.’

“ The letter of those three deputies may, at least, serve to prove, that the torrents of blood shed on the 10th of August ought not to be attributed to Lewis XVI., but to the

the faction who wished to dethrone him, in order that Servan, Claviere, and Rolland might be recalled to administration. Thyerry the king's first *valet de chambre*, who received the letter from them, and delivered it to the king, was afterwards assassinated, although he was absent from the palace on the 10th of August.

‘ 2d, A copy of a plan, consisting of twenty-one articles, secretly agreed on at Mantua, in the month of May 1791, by the emperor Leopold; the object of which was the re-establishment of the king's ancient and legal authority. For this end, the emperor proposed to enter France, with his army, in the beginning of the month of July following, a period in which neither our armies nor frontiers were in a state of defence.’

“ The king alone could have prevented the execution of this plan, and he did prevent it. All exacted from him was his consent, which was to be kept secret. He refused this, without consulting any body; he needed no advice when the tranquillity of

of his people was at stake; and he saw that this plan could not be executed without bloodshed.

" The two only ministers who had knowledge of these facts, and of an infinity of others equally important for the king's justification, were Messieurs de Montmorin and de Lessart, who unfortunately have both perished. It is difficult to attribute to chance, either the selection of the victims sacrificed on the 2d of September, or that of the king's papers which have been suppressed. However that may be, if Leopold's plan is not found, I shall, as soon as the king's process is commenced, name three persons who had a complete knowledge of all the particulars of that plan, and can ascertain the contents in as satisfactory a manner as if the original plan itself were laid before the convention.

" 3d, A journal written by the king himself, for his own private use, containing every thing of consequence he has done since he ascended the throne; his projects,

views, and even the faults he has to reproach himself with, are there inserted. This journal, which may be considered as a faithful picture of Lewis XIV., drawn by himself, and for himself only, would be a most interesting part of the intended process. Even in the faults with which he reproaches himself, his virtues, and uniform attachment to his people, would evidently appear.

“ That this journal was amongst the king’s papers, is proved by a letter which M. de Malesherbes has just received from M. de Liancourt.

“ These, sir, are the facts on which I call for the animadversion of the national convention, and the attention of all Europe; and for this purpose I have thought it my duty to render this application as public as possible, by confiding it in the hands of the Lord Mayor of London, and directing it to be published in the newspapers. And I now solemnly call on you, sir, as president, to communicate it to the

convention, otherwise you become personally answerable for the consequences of those important facts remaining unknown to them.

(Signed) DE BERTRAND.

"LONDON, January 8, 1793."

M. de Malesherbes acknowledged the receipt of M. de Bouillé's new declaration in his letter of the 6th of January; he wrote to me upon that subject as follows:

"With respect to M. de Bouillé's declaration, which is the subject of your letter of the 28th of December, we shall not have time to make use of it before the convention has passed sentence, because our memorial is drawn up and printed. Besides the article concerning the employment of the funds, entrusted to M. de Bouillé, is explained in a perfectly satisfactory manner in the memorial. But if the process is submitted to the primary assemblies, as it is to be hoped, and if we are of course permitted once more to plead, we shall, in that case, demand the papers of justification which M. de Bouillé left in Holland."

## C H A P. XL.

*Means used by the faction of Robespierre to force the majority of the convention to vote for the king's death.—Reflections on the character and fate of Lewis XVI.—Circumstances concerning his death and execution, as related by his confessor.—The king's interrogatory and last will.*

THE chief accusations against Lewis were so evidently false and absurd, and his innocence, candour, and the purity of his intentions plead so forcibly in his favour, that the majority of the assembly would never have come to the resolution of condemning him, had not the most atrocious men of the faction employed violent threats to bring their colleagues into their measures; and it appears that many, who were at first inclined to save the unfortunate prince, from fear and weakness voted for his death.

The

The mild goodness of this prince, even his tenderness for his subjects, were the circumstances which led him to his unhappy fate, or at least prevented his avoiding it.

If the murder of Lewis XVI., and all the wickedness which has been the consequence, could be justly considered as the crimes of the nation, whole ages would elapse before men of virtue and humanity would cease to blush at the thought of having France for their native country. Devoted to ignominy, that wretched land would be inhabited only by *banditti, assassins, bravos, smugglers, the refuse and rejected offal of other countries*:- but, thank Heaven these horrible crimes, although committed in the name of the French nation, were never authorized by it. The primary assemblies of 1792, in which the nobility, and the men of property of all the classes, durst not appear, for fear of assassination, or, at least, of gross insult, certainly were not the nation. The deputies elected by those assemblies, or rather those bands of

Jacobins, were not instructed, even by the most atrocious of their constituents, to destroy the monarchy, nor invested with the right of becoming at once accusers and judges, and, in those characters, the assassins of the king. To these regicides alone, therefore, to that band of infernal monsters, is the king's murder, that of the royal family, and all the subsequent guilt, to be imputed. My pen refuses to trace the circumstances of the condemnation and death of those illustrious victims. It is a sufficient mortification to have their assassins for fellow-citizens; I may be allowed to shrink from being their historian.

I confine myself to the relation of some particulars, little known, concerning the last moments of Lewis XVI., as they were communicated to me by his worthy confessor, the abbé Edgeworth. At that dreadful period this excellent person exhibited the most courageous proofs of his zeal for religion, and fidelity to his sovereign.

When

When M. de Malesherbes first visited the king at the Temple, as one of his counsel, his majesty, who considered his condemnation as certain, expressed the most anxious desire to see a priest, and mentioned the abbé Edgeworth, grand vicar of the diocese of Paris, and confessor to the princess Elizabeth, as the one he would prefer; desiring M. de Malesherbes to take every step towards obtaining for that gentleman free access to him, without any danger of being insulted: but requesting, at the same time, that the Abbé might be informed, that his majesty would not press this upon him, if he dreaded any personal risk on that account; in which case he was requested to point out some other proper person for that office, the king being willing to rely entirely on the Abbé's recommendation.

M. de Malesherbes having executed his majesty's commission, found M. Edgeworth cordially disposed to the duty required of him. It was not till the 20th of January 1793, at four of the afternoon, that he was sent for to the Tuilleries by the executive

council, who assembled there. When admitted into the room where the ministers were convened, he was greatly struck with the terror and consternation which appeared in their countenances.

"Louis Capet desires to see you," said the minister of justice (Garat). "Will you go to him to the Temple?"

"Uuquestionably I will," replied the Abbé. "The king's request is an order, in my eyes."

"Follow me, then; I will conduct you to him," resumed the same minister, who was going to notify to his majesty the decree of the convention, in consequence of the king's requests to them, and to announce that the following morning, at ten o'clock, was fixed for his execution. The minister of justice took the Abbé into the carriage with him; and on the way from the Thuilleries to the Temple he several times repeated, with the accent of despair, "What a dreadful commission!"

M. Edgeworth being summoned to fulfil one of the most solemn and sacred duties of his

his ministry, was desirous of observing the forms which the church prescribes, and urged the propriety of attending his majesty in priest's vestments.

"That is impossible," replied the minister of justice.

When they arrived at the Temple, they found the tower surrounded by a considerable number of national guards, by one of whom they were introduced into a hall where twelve or fifteen members of the *commune de Paris* were sitting, and at that time formed that court called *conseil de la commune séant au Temple*. Six or seven of them accompanied the minister to the king's chamber, and the others retained the Abbé with them, although the minister expressed a desire of presenting him to the king.

This council was certainly composed of the most unfeeling and brutal men in the municipality. They behaved to M. Edgeworth, not only without compassion, but they even shewed a ferocious joy. They rudely searched all his pockets, opened his

snuff-box to see whether it did not contain poison, examined his pencil-case, on the pretext that it might conceal a stiletto. They then made him ascend to the king's apartment by a little narrow stair, where sentinels were placed at small intervals, some of them drunk, swearing, and singing, as if it had been an ale-house.

The minister of justice was still in the king's apartment with those members of the council who had accompanied him to his majesty; the serene dignity of whose countenance formed a striking contrast with the haggard and villainous looks of the wretches who surrounded him. As soon as the king perceived the abbé Edgeworth, he made a movement, expressive of his desire to be left alone with him. The others immediately withdrew. The king shut the door, and turned towards the Abbé, who sunk on his knees, kissed his majesty's hand, and bathed it with his tears. The king, equally affected, raised M. Edgeworth, saying,

“None but the most unrelenting of men have been allowed to approach me of late.

My

My eyes are accustomed to them : but the sight of a man of humanity, a faithful subject, affects my whole soul, and melts me as you see."

Being in some measure recovered, he led the Abbé into his closet, and having made him sit down, he read his last will twice over to him, with a firm tone and proper emphasis ; his voice failing only at those parts where mention is made of the queen, his children, and the princess Elizabeth.

" What is become of the good cardinal de la Rochefoucault," said the king, after a short pause,..... " and the archbishop of Paris ? Have you any news of him ? I fear he is displeased with me. He wrote to me while I was at the Thuilleries. I did not answer his letter, I was so surrounded. He will forgive me. Assure him that I die in his communion ; and that in spite of all the changes they have made, I always considered myself as one of his flock."

It is difficult to do justice to the devout, sublime, and heroic sentiments expressed by the king in this interesting conference, particularly when he spoke of his own situ-

ation and that of his family; but, above all, when he dwelt on the misfortunes of his country.

"This people, by nature good," said he, "but now misguided and enslaved by a few unprincipled leaders, would never have suffered me to be accused of tyranny, if they had known how much their happiness has always been dear to me, and how sincerely I have wished to promote it. In proportion as I have been deprived of the means and hope of attaining an object which I had so much at heart, life has become more and more disgusting to me; and I now make the sacrifice without regret. I am certain that the time will come when the French people will lament my loss. Yes, I am confident that they will do justice to my memory when they shall know the truth, when they have the liberty of being just: but alas! till then, they are, and will be, very unhappy!"

This reflection on the misfortunes of his country again drew tears from the eyes of the generous monarch.

Speaking

Speaking of the duke of Orleans, he said,

"I do not know what I have done to my cousin, to make him behave to me in the manner he has done: but he is to be pitied. He is still more unfortunate than I am. I certainly would not change conditions with him."

After this, he rose, saying,

"I must now go and see my family for the last time. This will be the severest trial of all. When that is over, I shall fix my mind solely on what concerns my salvation."

Leaving the abbé Edgeworth in his closet, the unhappy prince went to the room where his family were already assembled, and which was separated only by a door from that in which were two commissaries constantly on duty: this door was formed of panes of glass from top to bottom, like a window; so that those two men could see and hear all that passed.

In such horrible circumstances, and in this dismal room, did the king of France

meet

meet his deplored family, now rendered more dear to him than ever by his own approaching fate, and their unexampled misfortunes. Here passed a scene of woe far beyond the power of description, to which the mind of sensibility alone can do justice.

The sympathizing heart of Mrs. Edgeworth was pierced with the groans of anguish and the screams of despair.

This agonizing interview lasted more than an hour. The king returned to his own room in a state of emotion that cannot be expressed.

“ Why,” said he, addressing the Abbé, after he had somewhat recovered himself, “ why do I love with so much tenderness, and wherefore am I so tenderly beloved? But now the painful sacrifice is over. Let me now turn my thoughts to the care of my salvation alone.”

Having thus expressed himself, he remained for some minutes in silent meditation, interrupted by sighs, accompanied with tears, and then began to converse on the great truths of religion; and astonished

his confessor as much by the extensive knowledge he displayed on that subject, as he had before edified him by his piety.

At ten o'clock, Clery, his faithful *valet de chambre*, came and proposed that he should take some supper. The king consented, less from any inclination to eat, than to oblige Clery, who made the request with tears in his eyes. After eating a mouthful, as he rose from the table he said to M. Edgeworth,

" You ought also to take some nourishment ; you are surely much exhausted."

This slight repast being over, the Abbé asked the king whether he would not like to hear mass, and to receive the communion. The king replied, that he desired it with ardour : but he shewed, at the same time, that he had little hopes of that favour being granted him.

" I must have permission," said he, " from this council in the Temple, who have hitherto granted me nothing but what was impossible to be withheld."

M. Edge-

M. Edgeworth went directly and signified the king's request to the council sitting in the Temple. He met with many difficulties.

"There are examples in history," said a member of this hardened court, "of priests who have mixed poison with the hostie."

"I have been sufficiently searched to satisfy you," replied the Abbé, "that I have no poison about me: but to render yourselves still more certain, you have only to furnish me with the hosties; and if they should prove poisoned, the blame will not be imputable to me."

To this the council made no immediate answer: but the members went into the room where they usually held their meetings. The king's demand was formally deliberated on; after which, the Abbé being called in, the president said,

"Citizen minister of worship, (*du culte*,) that which Louis Capet requests, not being contrary to law, we have agreed to grant it on two conditions: first, that you sign the request; and in the second place, that

the

the ceremony you intend to perform shall terminate before seven o'clock to-morrow morning; because, at eight o'clock, Louis Capet must go hence to the place of execution."

The abbé Edgeworth submitted to those conditions, and directly went and informed the king, who expressed the highest satisfaction at the hope of once more having the consolation of hearing mass, and of receiving the communion. He fell on his knees to return thanks to the Almighty, and immediately after began his confession. When it was ended, M. Edgeworth, seeing the king almost exhausted with the anguish and fatigue he had undergone, advised him to go to bed, and endeavour to get a little repose. His majesty consented, and prevailed on the Abbé to lay down in Clery's bed, which was in the same room.

Having slept with tranquillity, the king called for Clery, early the next morning, to assist him in dressing. He heard mass and received the communion with the most

profound

profound devotion. After having finished his prayers, he said to M. Edgeworth,

“ How happy am I in having retained my faith in religion ! In what a state of mind should I at this moment have been, had not the grace of God preserved to me that blessing. Yes, I shall be enabled to shew them that I do not fear death.”

A noise being heard at the door, M. Edgeworth was agitated. He thought the fatal moment was already arrived. The king, without betraying the least emotion, maintained his usual serenity. It was the guards who resumed their posts. His majesty having addressed himself to one of them, the wretch had the brutality to answer,

“ That would have been very well, formerly, citizen, but you are no longer a king\*.”

“ You see how I am treated,” said his majesty, addressing M. Edgeworth, “ but

\* “ Citoyen, c'étoit bon ça quand vous étiez roi, mais vous ne l'êtes plus.”

nothing

nothing can shock me now.—Here they come," resumed the king, calmly, on hearing some persons ascending the stair.

It was the commissaries of the commune, with a priest at their head, called Jacques Roux. They came to announce that the hour was at hand.

"It is enough," said the king. "I will join you directly: but I wish to pass a few moments alone with my confessor."

They retired. His majesty shut the door, and said, falling on his knees,

"All is consummated. Give me your last benediction."

Fear of the danger to which the abbé Edgeworth might be exposed, in accompanying the king to the place of execution, had prevented his majesty from making such a proposition, and he supposed that they were now to separate: but when he found that it was the fixed resolution of this venerable man, worthy of the sacred functions he exercised, to abide by him to the last, his majesty was at once moved by tenderness and filled with satisfaction.

Having

Having thrown open the door,

"*Marchons*," said he, with a firm tone of voice, to Santerre, who waited without.

Here the king offered to Roux, the priest, a packet, containing his testament, desiring that he might deliver it to the commune. The wretch refused to take it, saying, that it was his duty to conduct him to the scaffold, but nothing else. One of his companions, however, less hardened than this Roux, took the packet, and remitted it carefully to the commune.

Before they came to the stair of the Temple, the king perceiving that the commissaries were covered, desired Clery to bring his hat, which he immediately put on his head ; and being escorted by a very numerous detachment of national guards, he walked through the first court of the Temple, and found the carriage provided for him in the second. Two very ill-looking fellows belonging to the *gendarmes* stood at the door. One of them immediately entered into the carriage ; the king followed with the abbé Edgeworth. The

other

other *gendarme* placed himself by his comrade.

From the disturbed, fierce, and menacing countenances of those two men, M. Edgeworth suspected that they had orders to assassinate the king in the coach, in case of the appearance of any powerful attempt to rescue him. The public papers of the following day asserted that this suspicion was but too well founded.

A profound silence reigned among the people all the way from the Temple to the *Place de Louis XV.* The whole streets were lined with national guards under arms. Nothing was heard but the sound of drums.

As the movement of the carriage was very slow, the king asked for a prayer-book from the Abbé. He had none but his Breviary, which he gave him, pointing out the psalms most analogous to his situation. His majesty continued reading, with the utmost devotion, till the carriage stopped near the scaffold. The executioners having opened the door of the carriage, the

king laying his hand on the knee of the Abbé, said to the two *gendarmes*,

“ Gentlemen, I recommend M. Edge-worth to your protection.”

As they made no immediate answer, he added, with greater earnestness,

“ I conjure you to take care that no harm befall him after my death.”

“ Well, well, give yourself no farther trouble ; we shall take care of him,” answered one of them, in a harsh and ironical tone of voice.

The king having thrown off his coat, was going to ascend the scaffold, when they seized his hands, on purpose to tie them behind his back. As he was not prepared for this last insult, his first movement was to repel it with indignation : but M. Edge-worth, sensible that all resistance would be vain, and would expose the king to outrages still more violent, said,

“ Sire, this new humiliation is another circumstance in which your majesty’s sufferings resemble those of that Saviour, who will soon be your recompence.”

This

This observation instantly removed all his repugnance. With a dignified air of resignation he presented his hands to the wretches, who, tying the cords with all their force, the king addressing them mildly, said, "There is no need to pull so tight."

It was while he was mounting the scaffold, supported by the abbé Edgeworth, that this servant of God, as if by inspiration, addressed the king in this sublime expression, "Offspring of St. Louis, ascend to Heaven \*!"

As soon as he came upon the scaffold, advancing, with a firm step, to the part which faced the palace, he desired the

\* The modesty and scrupulous exactness of the abbé Edgeworth are such, that the general admiration excited by this solemn apostrophe led him to examine his memory, whether he had really pronounced those very words; and he told me himself, that his grief and agitation, at this dreadful moment, had totally effaced from his mind the greater part of what he had said to the king; and that he recollects nothing further, concerning this particular sentence, than what he had received from others. But as the circumstance, spread over the whole capital the very day of the king's death, and inserted in all the public papers, has never been contradicted, I thought myself authorized to regard it as indisputably true, notwithstanding the delicacy of the abbé Edgeworth; which, without invalidating the truth of this fact, proves the confidence that is due to whatever he asserts.

drums to cease, and was immediately obeyed, in spite of the orders they had received. He then pronounced, with a voice loud enough to be heard at the gardens of the Thuilleries,

“ I die innocent of all the crimes which have been imputed to me. I forgive my enemies. I implore God, from the bottom of my heart, to pardon them, and not to take vengeance on the French nation for the blood about to be shed—”

He was continuing, when that most atrocious of villains, Santerre, pushed furiously towards the drummers, and forced them to beat without interruption. The executioners, at the same time, laid hold of their victim, and the horrid deed was completed.

There is reason to believe that Santerre, and the council who had their sittings at the Temple, had been at pains to select for the execution of this crime, some who had already given proofs of their patriotism by murder. The shocking ferocity of a young man of eighteen or twenty years of age, who assisted on this dreadful occasion, can-

not be otherwise accounted for. As soon as the king's head was severed from the body, this young cannibal, seizing it by the hair, danced around the scaffold, holding it up to the people, and exclaiming repeatedly, *Vive la nation!*

The abbé Edgeworth, who was on his knees on the scaffold during the execution, and was still in the same posture, would have been covered with blood, had he not, by an involuntary movement which he has since regretted, shrunk back when this monster approached him, brandishing the head of the king in his hand. The repeated cries of *Vive la nation!* and this horrid spectacle, roused him from the stupor into which he had sunk. He rose with precipitation, descended from the scaffold, pierced, without difficulty, through the national guards that surrounded it, who opened, at the simple movement of his hand, to let him pass. He mixed with the multitude, and went directly to M. de Maleherbes.

The king had charged him with several commissions to that gentleman, particularly

that he should be informed into whose hands the duplicate of the testament had been placed, in case that which his majesty had delivered to the commissaries of the commune should not be published. At sight of this courageous attendant on the king, the faithful witness of his sufferings, in whose breast the last thoughts of the royal martyr had been deposited, the venerable old man burst into tears, and having embraced him, exclaimed,

“ All, then, is over, my dear Abbé?—Receive my thanks, and those of all worthy Frenchmen, for the unshaken fidelity and zeal you have manifested for our good master.”

The Abbé communicated to him all that the king had given him in charge, and then made a recital of what had passed at the Temple, and at the *Place de Louis XV.*

He had scarce finished, when M. de Malef-herbes, transported with grief and indignation, poured forth a torrent of invective against the revolution, and the authors of the king’s death, with astonishing vehemence,

mence, and in a sublime strain of eloquence \*.

“ The villains have actually put him to death, then !” cried he. “ And it was in the name of the nation that they perpetrated this parricide ! In the name of the French, who, had they been worthy of so good a king, would have acknowledged him as the best they ever had. Yes, the very best ; for he was as pious as Lewis IX., as just as Lewis XII., as humane as Henry IV., and exempt from their failings. His only fault was that of loving us too well ; conducting himself too much as our father, and not enough as our king ; and continually endeavouring to procure us more happiness than we were capable of enjoying. But *his* faults proceeded, in some degree, from his virtues ; whereas ours flow entirely from our vices. It is

\* “ Vous auriéz crû,” m'a dit l'abbé Edgeworth, “ entendre M. Burke lui même.”

“ You might have thought,” said the abbé Edgeworth, when he narrated this to me, “ that you were hearing Mr. Burke himself.”

this false philosophy (of which I must confess that I myself have been the dupe) which has hurried us into an abyss of destruction. It is that which has, by an inconcievable magic, fascinated the eyes of the nation, and made us sacrifice the substance for a phantom. For the mere words *liberté politique*, France has sacrificed social liberty, which she possessed, in all respects, in a greater degree than any other nation, because she had multiplied and embellished the sources of enjoyment beyond any other nation. The people, conscious of their being completely invested with the liberty of doing everything which the law permits, conceived that political liberty must imply the right of doing what the law forbids, and France was filled with crimes. Intoxicated with the idea of sovereignty, they imagined that the overthrow of monarchy would place themselves on the throne; that confiscations would put the property of the rich in their hands. Wretches who were the most ardent in spreading such absurd notions, unfortunately were elected as deputies to the

the national assembly ; and their first exertions were directed against our unhappy king. Monsters ! with what unheard-of barbarity have they treated him ! But what calm and dignified courage did he not display ! How great does he seem, in his last moments ! All their efforts to debase him have been vain. His steady virtue has triumphed over their wickedness. It is then true, that religion alone can give sufficient force to enable the mind of man to support the most dreadful trials with so much dignity. Depart from this town, my dear Abbé. I conjure you not to remain in Paris ; you are not safe here ; and I advise you to leave the kingdom as soon as you possibly can. Fly from this accursed land. In it you will find no asylum from those tigers who thirst for your blood. As for my own part, I own I have nothing to fear. They know that the people love me. The murderers dare not touch a hair of my grey head \*. Nevertheless I shall go

to

\* M. de Maleherbes little thought, that in the eyes of such brutal tyrants as those who oppressed France, the very virtues

to the country to-morrow, that I may not be obliged any longer to breathe an air infected by those regicides. Adieu, then, my dear Abbé ; wherever you go, be assured that I shall always take a very warm interest in whatever regards you."

Thus separated two men, so worthy of the confidence which Lewis XVI. placed in each.

Completely to fulfil the principal object of these Memoirs, I shall add to this recital, which may be considered, in some measure, as dictated by the abbé Edgeworth himself\*, an account of the king's interrogatories, and testament, in which, it is clear, he was assisted by nobody ; because they evince the precision and extent of his understanding, and are the strongest proofs of all I have asserted concerning his character.

virtues which had procured him the love and veneration of the people, would be considered as the most *dangerous of crimes*.

\* This recital, collected from many conversations with the abbé Edgeworth, will be confirmed by what he himself will probably publish, in consequence of the request of the worthy heir to the virtues of Lewis XVI. *Vide Appendix, No. VII.*

I am aware that the king has been reproached for having submitted, to no purpose, to the humiliation of attempting a defence before such a court as the convention : but those who blame him on this account do not reflect, that if he had possessed sufficient energy of character to have pronounced, with a firm and authoritative voice, at the bar of the assembly, " That he had nothing to answer to revolted subjects ; and that he acknowledged no judge but God alone," the same energy would have enabled him to repress the early attempts against his government ; and he never would have been reduced to the extremity of appearing before any court whatever.

Can we justly reproach Lewis XVI. that nature lavished upon him in benevolence what she withheld from him in energy ? Is it to his account we are to lay the faults of his education ? He had faults, undoubtedly ; I have not attempted to conceal them : but his unexampled misfortunes have made me forget his faults, and I can remember nothing but his virtues.

With

With regard to his behaviour at his trial, I own that I have always reflected with admiration on the precision and wisdom of his answers, especially as they must have been unpremeditated ; he having been so closely guarded, that he was ignorant of all that was passing out of his prison, till the moment he was called to appear before the convention. Yet had the ablest lawyers been permitted to suggest answers to all the prepared questions put to the king by the president of the convention, it is much to be doubted whether they could have improved, in any respect, on those made by his majesty.

The king's interrogatory, and his last will, unquestionably composed and written by himself, are sufficient to convince those who never had an opportunity of knowing him, that he possessed a just understanding and a virtuous soul. This truth cannot be too strongly insisted upon ; not only because it devotes to the execrations of posterity the authors of all the crimes which produced this horrible revolution, but also because

because it is a warning to princes, that the qualities with which Lewis was endowed are not alone sufficient to secure them against similar misfortunes.

*Extract of the proceedings of the convention  
on the 11th of December 1792.*

Lewis came to the bar ;—a profound silence reigned in the assembly.

The president said to him,

“ Lewis, the people of France accuse you ; the national convention has decreed that you shall be tried, and that its members shall be your judges. You shall now hear the declaration of the crimes imputed to you. Lewis, sit down.”

The king seated himself.

A secretary read the accusation.

The president then said,

“ Lewis, you are to answer the questions I am commissioned by the national convention to propose to you.

“ Lewis,

“ Lewis, you are accused of having committed a multitude of crimes to establish your tyranny by destroying liberty.

“ On the 20th of June 1789, you committed an outrage against the sovereignty of the people, by suspending the assemblies of its representatives, and by driving them with violence from their place of meeting. The proof of this is in the verbal process, drawn up in the Tennis Court at Versailles by the members of the constituent assembly. What have you to answer?”

*Lewis.* “ I acted against no law then in existence.”

*President.* “ On the 23d of June 1789, you attempted to impose laws upon the nation ; you surrounded the sitting of the constituent assembly with troops ; presented them with two royal declarations subversive of all liberty, and you commanded them to separate ?”

To this the king gave the same answer as to the preceding question.

*President.* “ You ordered an army to march against the citizens of Paris ; their blood

blood was shed ; you did not withdraw the troops till the Bastile was taken, and a general insurrection taught you that the people were victorious. The answers you returned to the deputations of the constituent assembly, on the 9th, 12th, and 14th of July, shew what your intentions then were ; and the massacre at the Tuilleries also deposes against you. What have you to answer ?”

*Lewis.* “ I had, at that time, the power to employ my troops where I thought the circumstances required ; but I never had any intention to shed blood.”

*President.* “ After these events, notwithstanding the promise made by you in the assembly on the 15th, and in the Hotel de Ville on the 17th, you persisted in your projects against the national liberty. You long evaded sanctioning the decree of the 11th of August for abolishing personal servitude, feudal rights, and tithes ; you, at first, refused to acknowledge the declaration of the rights of man ; you doubled the number of your body-guards, and

and ordered the regiment of Flanders to Versailles ; during the festival at that place, you permitted the national cockade to be trampled under foot before your face, the white cockade set up, and the nation to be blasphemed. In short, you rendered a new insurrection necessary, and occasioned the death of many citizens. It was not till after the defeat of your guards that you changed your language and renewed your perfidious promises. The proofs of these facts are in your own observations of the 18th of September on the decree of the 10th of August, in the verbal process of the constituent assembly on the events which took place at Versailles on the 5th and 6th of October, and in the answer you returned to the constituent assembly, namely, ' That you would be guided by their council, and never separate yourself from them.' What have you to answer ? "

*Lewis.* " I made the observations which occurred to me, as just and necessary upon the decrees presented to me. The charge respecting the cockade is false. I was witness to no such scene."

*President.*

*President.* "At the federation of the 14th of July 1790, you took an oath which you did not adhere to, but endeavoured, on the contrary, to corrupt the public mind through the agency of Talon in Paris, and the influence of Mirabeau in the provinces. You lavished millions to corrupt the public mind; you attempted to make popularity itself an engine against the people. These facts are evident from a memorial of Talon's, verified by your hand, and by a letter which la Porte wrote to you on the 19th of April, in which, speaking of a conversation he had with Rivarol, he informs you, that the sums you had been advised to distribute, had produced nothing."

*Lewis.* "I don't exactly remember what passed at that time; but all these are circumstances which occurred previous to my accepting the constitution."

*President.* "Was it not in consequence of a plan formed by Talon, that you went to the Fauxbourgs St. Antoine, distributed money amongst the poor workmen,

telling them that you could do no more for them?"

*Lewis.* "I had no greater satisfaction than in giving to those who required relief: in this I had no insidious design."

*President.* "Was it not in consequence of the same project that you feigned an indisposition to prepare the public mind for your journey to St. Cloud or to Rambouillet, upon pretext that the country air was necessary for your health?"

*Lewis.* "This accusation is quite absurd."

*President.* "You had long meditated the design of escaping. A plan for that purpose was presented to you on the 23d. of February 1791, which you verified by your own hand-writing; and, on the 28th, a considerable number of officers and nobles assembled in the palace of the Tuilleries in order to favour your escape. You attempted to go from Paris to St. Cloud on the 11th of April; but the opposition of the citizens convinced you, that your design was suspected by the public. You endeavoured

deavoured to dissipate this mistrust by communicating to the assembly the letter in which you make a declaration to foreign powers, that you had freely accepted the constitution. Notwithstanding this, you made your escape by the means of a false passport, on the 21st of the month of June following, leaving behind you a declaration against this very constitution. You ordered the ministers not to sign any acts which came from the national assembly; and you prohibited the minister of justice from sealing them with the seal of the state; the public money was lavished to ensure the success of this treason; and you ordered de Bouillé to assist you with an armed force; that same officer who commanded at the massacres of Nancy, to whom you wrote on that occasion, 'endeavour to preserve your popularity, it may be useful.' These facts are founded on the memorial of the 23d of February, verified by your hand; and on the declaration of the 20th of June, entirely in your own hand-writing; on your letter of

the 4th of September 1790 to Bouillé; and on a note from him, giving you an account of the employment of 993,000 livres which you had given him, and which he had partly expended in corrupting the troops which were to escort you. What have you to answer?"

*Lewis.* "I know nothing of the memorial of the 23d of February. With respect to my journey to Varennes, I refer to the answer I at that time made to the constituent assembly."

*President.* "After you were stopped at Varennes, your executive power was for some time suspended, but you still conspired; and on the 17th of July, the blood of the citizens was shed in the *Champ de Mars*. A letter in your own hand, addressed to la Fayette 1790, proves that a criminal coalition existed between you and him, to which Mirabeau had also agreed. All kinds of corruption were employed by you. You paid the expence of publishing libels, pamphlets, and journals, which tended to pervert the public opinion, to discredit

discredit assignats, and to support the cause of the emigrants. The registers of Septeuil state what enormous sums were expended for these profligate purposes. You affected to accept the constitution of the 14th of September ; you declared yourself willing to maintain it ; yet you laboured to overthrow it before it was completed. What have you to answer ?”

*Lewis.* “ What passed on the 17th of July cannot be justly attributed to me. As to the other charges I have no knowledge of them.”

*President.* “ A convention took place at Pilnitz on the 24th of July, between Leopold of Austria and Frederick William of Brandenburg, for the purpose of re-establishing absolute monarchy in France, with which you were acquainted, yet you concealed it from the national assembly until it was known to all Europe. What have you to answer ?”

*Lewis.* “ I made it known as soon as I knew it myself ; besides, by the constitution, it was the business of the ministers.”

*President.* “ Arles raised the standard of revolt : you favoured it by sending commissioners, who, in place of endeavouring to check the counter-revolutionists, encouraged them by justifying their attempt. What do you answer ?”

*Lewis.* “ The commissioners instructions will evince the nature of the orders with which they were intrusted. I knew none of the commissioners when my ministers proposed them to me.”

*President.* “ Avignon and Venaissin had been reunited to France ; but you did not execute the decree till a month after : during that interval, a civil war desolated the country, and the commissioners you sent completed the devaftation. What have you to answer ?”

*Lewis.* “ That charge cannot personally affect me. I know not what delay attended the execution of the decree ; but those who were intrusted with it are alone responsible.”

*President.* “ Nimes, Montauban, Mendes, and Jalès, experienced violent commo-  
tions

tions in the commencement of liberty. You did nothing to extinguish these sparks of counter-revolution till the moment when the conspiracy of Saillans broke out. What do you answer?"

*Lewis.* "I gave the orders upon that occasion, which were proposed to me by my ministers."

*President.* "You sent two battalions against the Marseillois, who were marching to reduce the counter-revolutionists of Arles. What have you to answer?"

*Lewis.* "I must see the papers which regard this affair before I can answer the charge."

*President.* "You gave the command of the south to Weigenstein, who wrote to you on the 21st of April, after he had been recalled, in these terms: 'A few moments longer and I should have surrounded your majesty's throne with millions of Frenchmen, rendered once more worthy of the wishes you form for their happiness.' What have you to answer?"

*Lewis.* "This letter, by the statement of the charge, is posterior to his recall. He has never been employed since. I recollect nothing of the letter."

*President.* "You paid your disbanded body-guards at Coblenz, as the registers of Septeuil testify ; and various orders, signed by you, confirm your having remitted considerable sums to Bouillé, la Vauguyon, Choiseul-Beauprè, d'Hamilton, and the woman Polignac ?"

*Lewis.* "I no sooner received intelligence that my body-guards had assembled in the neighbourhood of the Rhine, than I ordered their pay to be stopped. I remember nothing respecting the rest."

*President.* "Your brothers, enemies of the state, have called emigrants around their standard ; they have raised regiments, borrowed money, and contracted alliances in your name ; you did not disavow them till you were well assured that you could not injure their plans. Your correspondence with them is proved by a note in the hand-

hand-writing of Lewis Stanislaus Xavier, signed by both your brothers, as follows :

“ ‘ I have written to you, but it was by the post, so I could say nothing. We are here two, but in mind only one ; the same principles, the same sentiments, the same ardour to serve you, animates us both. We still keep silence ; we should injure you by breaking it too soon, but shall speak out when assured of general support, and that moment is near. If they speak to us on the part of those people, we will not listen ; if they speak in your name, we will listen, but never alter our course ; if, therefore, they should exact that you make some declaration to us, make it without hesitation ; be easy with regard to your safety ; we only exist to serve you : we shall ardently exert ourselves for that purpose, and every thing will go well. Even your enemies have too much interest in your preservation to commit an useless crime which would complete their ruin. Adieu,

L. S. XAVIER, et  
CHARLES PHILLIPPE.’

“ What

“ What have you to answer ?”

*Lewis.* “ As soon as I heard of my brothers’ proceedings, I disavowed them as the constitution prescribes. I have none of their letters.”

*President.* “ The troops of the line, who ought to have been kept up to the war-establishment, amounted only to one hundred thousand men at the end of December ; you had thus neglected to guard the safety of the nation. Narbonne, your agent, had required, that fifty thousand additional troops should be raised ; but he stopt the levies at twenty-six thousand, declaring that every necessary provision for national defence was made, yet nothing was prepared. Servan proposed to form a camp of twenty thousand men near Paris ; the legislative assembly decreed this, but you refused to give your sanction to the decree. A patriotic emotion prompted many citizens, in the most distant provinces, to march to Paris ; you issued a proclamation, the tendency of which was to stop their march ; meanwhile our armies were

were deficient in soldiers ; Dumourier, who succeeded, declared that the nation was not sufficiently provided in arms, ammunition, or subsistence for the troops ; and that the frontier towns were not in a state of defence. What have you to answer ?"

*Lewis.* " I gave to the minister the orders necessary for the augmentation of the army ; the statements were laid before the assembly ; if there were errors in them, it was no fault of mine."

*President.* " You gave directions to the commanders of the troops to relax the discipline of the army, to excite whole regiments to desert, and to pass the Rhine in order to join your brothers, and Leopold of Austria. This fact is proved by a letter of Toulongeon's, commander in *Franche Comté*. What have you to answer ?"

*Lewis.* " There is not a word of truth in this accusation."

*President.* " You commissioned your diplomatic agents to encourage a coalition between your brothers and foreign powers against France, particularly to strengthen

strengthen the peace between Turkey and Austria ; that the latter, by withdrawing her troops from the Turkish frontiers, might be enabled to direct a greater force against France, as is proved by a letter from Choiseul Gouffier, ambassador of Constantinople. What have you to answer ? ”

*Lewis.* “ M. Choiseul has not spoken the truth ; there is no foundation for such an idea.”

*President.* “ You neglected to provide for the safety of the nation at a most dangerous crisis ; you delayed till the legislative assembly required of the minister Lajard to point out the means of defence, and then, but no sooner, you sent a message to the assembly, proposing a levy of forty-two battalions. The Prussians were advancing to our frontiers ; your minister was ordered, on the 8th of July, to give an account of our actual situation with regard to Prussia ; you answered on the 10th, that fifty thousand Prussians were on their march against us, and that you gave that information to the assembly as directed by the

the constitution. What have you to answer?"

*Lewis.* "I had no knowledge of the fact until the 10th; all diplomatic correspondence was carried on by the ministers."

*President.* "You placed Dabancourt, the nephew of Calonne, at the head of the war department; and such was the success of your treachery, that Longwy and Verdun were delivered up as soon as the enemy appeared before them."

*Lewis.* "I did not know that M. Dabancourt was the nephew of Calonne; it was not me who dismantled these towns; I never would have authorised it."

*President.* "Who dismantled Longwy and Verdun?"

*Lewis.* "If such was their situation, I knew nothing of it."

*President.* "You have destroyed our navy; so many of its officers emigrated, that there hardly remained a sufficient number for the service; nevertheless Bertrand continued to grant passports; and when the legislative body represented to

you,

you, on the 8th of March, his criminal conduct, you answered, that you were satisfied with his services?"

*Lewis.* "I did every thing in my power to retain the officers in the service. The national assembly produced no charge which appeared to me of a criminal nature against Bertrand, therefore I did not think it just to dismiss him."

*President.* "You countenanced absolute government in the colonies; your agents fomented disturbances, and the counter-revolution there, at the same time that it was to have taken place in France."

*Lewis.* "If any persons called themselves my agents in the colonies, they did it without authority from me. I gave no countenance for any thing of the nature you mention."

*President.* "The national tranquillity was disturbed by fanatics; you shewed yourself their protector, and manifested an evident intention of recovering your former power by their means. What do you answer?"

*Lewis.* "I have no answer to make to this charge. I had no knowledge of any such design."

*President.* "The legislative body, on the 29th of November, passed a decree against seditious priests, but you suspended the execution of it. What have you to answer?"

*Lewis.* "The constitution allowed me the free power of sanctioning or rejecting decrees."

*President.* "Disturbances increased; the minister declared, that he knew no existing laws by which the guilty could be punished. The legislative body passed a new decree; you suspended the execution of that also."

*Lewis.*—The same reply.

*President.* "The bad conduct of those guards which the constitution had given to you was such, that the assembly was under the necessity of decreeing that they should be disbanded; the day after, you wrote a letter to the assembly, declaring your satisfaction, and you continued to

pay

pay them, as is proved by the accounts of the treasurer of the civil list."

*Lewis.* "I only continued their pay until they should be re-established according as the decree required."

*President.* "You retained your Swiss guards about your person in contradiction to the constitution, and after the legislative assembly had expressly ordered their departure. What do you answer?"

*Lewis.* "I conformed to the decree on that subject."

*President.* "You authorised d'Angremont and Gilles secretly to maintain private companies in Paris, for the purpose of exciting commotions favourable to your plans of counter-revolution. The receipts of Gilles, who was ordered to organize a company of sixty men, will be presented to you. What have you to answer?"

*Lewis.* "I am quite ignorant of those schemes attributed to me. The idea of a counter-revolution never entered my head."

*President.*

*President.* " You endeavoured, by considerable sums, to bribe several members of the constituent and legislative assemblies. This fact is proved by letters from Dufresne, Saint Leon, and many others, which will be produced."

*Lewis.* " Such plans were frequently presented to me; but I rejected them."

*President.* " Who were the members of the constituent and legislative assembly whom you corrupted ?"

*Lewis.* " I never sought to corrupt any. I know of none."

*President.* " Who were the persons that presented plans to you ?"

*Lewis.* " The plans were so absurd, that I don't recollect."

*President.* " To whom did you promise money ?"

*Lewis.* " To none."

*President.* " You suffered the French nation to be degraded in Germany, Italy, and Spain, by not exacting reparation for the insults offered to the French in these countries. What have you to answer ?"

*Lewis.* "The diplomatic correspondence proves the contrary. At any rate, that was the business of the ministers."

*President.* "On the 10th of August you reviewed the Swiss guards at five o'clock in the morning, and they fired first on the citizens. What have you to answer?"

*Lewis.* "I that day reviewed all the troops that were assembled near me. The constituted authorities, the mayor of Paris, &c. were present. I had even requested a deputation might be sent me from the national assembly, that they might advise me how I should act in that emergency; and I afterwards took refuge in the assembly, with my family."

*President.* "Why did you cause the Swiss guard to be doubled, in the beginning of August?"

*Lewis.* "All the constituted authorities knew that the palace was to be attacked. As I was one of the constituted authorities, I had a right to defend myself."

*President.*

*President.* "Why did you send for the mayor of Paris on the evening of the 9th of August?"

*Lewis.* "Because of the rumours which were spread."

*President.* "You caused the blood of Frenchmen to be shed."

*Lewis.* "No, sir, it was not me."

*President.* "Did not you authorize Septeuil to undertake a commercial speculation in grain, sugar, and coffee, at Hamburg, and in other towns? This is proved by Septeuil's own letters."

*Lewis.* "I know nothing about what you mention."

*President.* "Why did you put a *veto* on the decree, ordering a camp to be formed round Paris?"

*Lewis.* "The constitution gave me full powers to sanction decrees or not. At that time I ordered a camp nearer the frontiers, at Soissons."

*President.* "Lewis, have you any thing to add in your defence?"

*Lewis.* “ I demand a copy of the act of accusation, and that I may be allowed a counsel to conduct my cause.”

*The last Will and Testament of Lewis the Sixteenth.*

“ In the name of the Holy Trinity, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. This day, the 21st day of December 1792, I Lewis the Sixteenth, king of France, having been for more than four months shut up with my family in the tower of the Temple, by those who were my subjects, and deprived of every communication, even with my family, since the 11th of this month; and being moreover involved in a trial, of which, from the passions of men, it is impossible to foresee the event; and for which neither pretext nor precedent can be found in any existing law: having no witness of my thoughts but God, and no one but him to whom I can address myself, I here declare, in his presence, my last will and sentiments.

“ I re-

“ I recommend my soul to God my Creator, beseeching him to receive it in his mercy, and not to judge me according to my merits, but according to the merits of Jesus Christ our Lord, who offered himself as a sacrifice to God his father for the human race, unworthy as we are, I myself in particular. I die in the communion of our Holy Mother, the catholic, apostolic, and Roman church, which holds its powers by an uninterrupted succession from St. Peter, to whom Jesus Christ intrusted them. I firmly believe all that is contained in the apostle’s creed, and in the commandments of God and the church; in the sacraments and mysteries as the catholic church teaches and has always taught. I have never presumed to make myself a judge of the different manners of explaining the doctrines which divide the church of Jesus Christ, but I have always adhered to, and if it pleases God to prolong my life, shall always abide by, the decisions which the superior ecclesiastics, in union with the holy church, have given, according to the discipline ob-

served since Jesus Christ. I lament, with my whole heart, those of my brethren of mankind who are in error, but do not presume to judge them; and I do not the less love them all in Jesus Christ, as christian charity enjoins. I implore God to pardon all my sins. I have endeavoured scrupulously to know them, to detest them, and to humble myself in the presence of the Almighty. Not having it in my power to avail myself of the ministry of a catholic priest, I pray God to receive the confession which I have made to him; above all, my deep repentance for having signed my name (although against my will) to acts contrary to the discipline and belief of the catholic church, to which my heart has ever been sincerely united. I beseech God to accept my firm resolution of taking the first opportunity in my power of making a full confession of my sins to a catholic priest, and of receiving the sacrament of penitence. I beg all those whom I have offended, through inadvertency, (for I do not recollect having ever intentionally offended any one,) and also those to whom I may

I may have given a bad example, to forgive me for the evil which such conduct may have produced. I beseech all those who are endowed with charity to join their prayers with mine, to obtain of God the pardon of my iniquities. I pardon, with my whole heart, those who have become my enemies without cause, and I pray God to pardon them; as also those who, from false or mistaken zeal, have done me the greatest injuries.

“ I recommend to God my wife, my children, my sister, my aunts, my brothers, and all those who are attached to me by the ties of blood, or in any manner whatsoever. I earnestly intreat of God to cast the eyes of mercy on my wife, my children, and my sister, who have for a long time suffered with me; and in case of their losing me, that he may be their support and consolation, as long as they shall remain in this perishable world.

“ I recommend my children to my wife. I never doubted her maternal tenderness;

and I recommend, above all, that she will carefully endeavour to make them good christians ; to teach them to consider worldly grandeur as dangerous and perishable, and to fix their minds on eternity, where alone solid and lasting glory is to be found. I intreat my sister to continue her tenderness to my children, and that she will be to them as a parent, if they should have the misfortune to lose their mother. I beseech my wife to forgive me all those hardships she has undergone on my account, and all the uneasiness I may have given her in the course of our union ; and if she should think that she has any cause to reproach herself on account of any part of her conduct towards me, she may rest assured that I retain nothing on my mind unfavourable to her.

“ I recommend, with the greatest earnestness, to my children, after what they owe to God, which must ever be considered as their first duty, to remain always united to each other, submissive and obedient

ent to their mother, and grateful for the pain and care she takes of them ; and I conjure them, for my sake, that they will respect their aunt as a second mother.

" If my son should ever have the misfortune to be established on the throne, I anxiously recommend that he should devote himself to the happiness of his countrymen ; that he ought to divest himself of all resentments and animosities, particularly those which have a reference to my misfortunes and miseries. He can insure the happiness of the people only by reigning according to the laws ; although, at the same time, a king cannot make himself respected, and do all the good which is in his heart, without a necessary degree of authority ; without which he must be confined in his operations ; and when he cannot inspire respect, he necessarily becomes more hurtful than useful.

" I recommend to my son to take care of all those persons who have been attached to me, as far as the circumstances, in which

he may find himself, shall afford him opportunity. He ought ever to regard this as a sacred debt which I have contracted towards the children or parents of those who perished for my sake, or have been rendered miserable on my account. I know there are several persons, amongst those who were attached to me, who have not behaved towards me as they ought to have done, and who have even shewn ingratitude: but I forgive them (for in times of trouble and effervescence, men are not always masters of their conduct); and I beseech my son, should he find an opportunity of serving them, to reflect only on their misfortunes.

“I wish it were in my power openly to express my gratitude to all who have shewn me a truly disinterested attachment: but if I have been painfully affected by the ingratitude and disloyalty of those to whom I have always acted with kindness, I have likewise had the consolation of receiving services and strong marks of attachment from several of my subjects, on whom I never

never had bestowed any favour. I beg that all those persons will accept my grateful acknowledgments. In the present situation of things, I fear that I should injure them by being more explicit on this subject: but I particularly exhort my son to seek opportunities of making them a suitable return. I think, however, that it would be calumniating the nation to express any fear of openly recommending to my son M. de Chamilly and M. Hue, whose sincere attachment to me has induced them to shut themselves up along with me in this melancholy abode, and who have been frequently in danger of becoming victims to their generosity. I also recommend to him Clery, with whose attention I have every reason to be satisfied since he has been with me; and as he has remained with me to the last, I beg of the commune to give to him my clothes, my books, my watch, my money, and all the other effects belonging to me which have been deposited into the hands of the council of the commune.

to

" I most

“ I most willingly pardon those who guarded me for the harshness of their conduct, and the constraint which they thought necessary to impose upon me. I have found in the Temple some persons of feeling and humanity: may they long enjoy that serenity of mind which such dispositions naturally produce !

“ I beseech Messrs. de Malesherbes, Tronchet, and Deseze to receive my most grateful thanks and cordial acknowledgments for the pain and labour they have taken for me.

“ I conclude, by declaring, before God, being ready to appear in his presence, that I do not reproach myself with any of those crimes which have been charged against me.

LEWIS.”

### FRENCHMEN,

Such are the sentiments which holy religion inspires, whose sacred altars you have permitted to be overturned ! Such was the king who was represented to you as a tyrant, and

*and whom you permitted to be murdered in  
your name !*

*How long are you to endure the greatest of  
all tyrannies ? How long are you to be con-  
strained to celebrate, as a national festival, the  
anniversary of that execrable regicide \* ?*

\* FRANCAIS,

Tels sont les sentimens qu'inspire cette religion sainte,  
dont vous avez laissé renverser les autels ! Tel fut le roi quon  
vous a peint comme un tiran, et que vous avez laissé assassiné  
en votre nom !

Jusqu'à quand osera-t-on vous forcer à celebrer, comme une  
fête nationale, i'anniversaire de cet exécrable régicide ?

## CONCLUSION.

THE French revolution is an awful lesson both to sovereigns and subjects. May the instruction it conveys not be lost to the human race, who have purchased it at the price of so much blood; nor to France, which it has plunged into so much guilt! May it teach kings, that benevolence, piety, and all the mild and amiable virtues which can adorn a throne, are not the qualities the most effectual for its support! Justice and prudence to command, vigour and firmness in exacting obedience, are the only virtues by which a sovereign can maintain his authority, and which can effectually secure him against the dangers of a revolution.

A king who is always just, is sure to be sufficiently benevolent: but a benevolent

lent king is not always sure of being a just one.

May the people, admonished by our calamities, learn to regard the government, under which they are born, as their most invaluable property ; as the surest protection of every thing that is dear to them ! Let the experience of all ages, and of all nations, convince them, that there never existed a government free from abuses ; that those to which they are accustomed are the easiest to support. Let them be taught, that those ambitious, wicked, or mad persons, who, under the specious pretext of reforming abuses, shall propose a change in their government, will ever prove their most dangerous enemies. It is to their insidious doctrines and diabolical machinations that France may impute the horrible catastrophes and innumerable calamities which overwhelm and disgrace her.

How ought she now to abhor those outrageous apostles of liberty and the sovereignty of the people, who have never been able nor inclined to produce any other result

sult from their doctrines than licentiousness and anarchy ! How ought she to abhor those pretended restorers of the rights of man, who have violated, with impunity, all those rights, and who have trodden under foot the most sacred laws of humanity !

It would be a most dangerous misapprehension of the nature and principles of our revolution which should lead us to believe, that a horror at the crimes and misfortunes which have accompanied it will arrest its progress. It is but too plain, that it still threatens all civilized nations ; and that if the governments and persons of property of every country, whom the fanaticism of equality, liberty, and the sovereignty of the people have not yet infected, do not unite their efforts, by every possible means, to counteract the effects of this moral pestilence, what has occurred to France will be only the first steps towards the general disorganization of social order. This pestilence becomes more deadly and more dangerous than any physical calamity, because it

It is more easy to disguise its poison, by imputing all the crimes which have followed the French revolution to the ignorance and wickedness of its authors.

Sufficient attention has not been paid to the efficacy of the means which the dextrous propagators of revolutionary doctrines have employed to render them seducing to the eyes of the multitude. With what hypocrisy and fertility of invention have they not employed all the charms of imagination, enthusiasm, and eloquence ! With what art have they not combined all the passions which have most sway over mankind—ambition, vanity, the love of independence, of riches, of power ! Is there a nation under Heaven, the majority of which is sufficiently enlightened to resist such a bait, when employed with so much address, and presented to each individual under the form most likely to allure him ? How many worthy and well-meaning men have we not seen in France, who have allowed themselves to be seduced by the idea, that a revolution of some kind was necessary

sary to give a constitution to our monarchy, which they were told was without one; and which, by a chance the most extraordinary, had existed during a period of many centuries, without a constitution?

To give to this paradox, equally dangerous and absurd, all the force of a simple and demonstrated truth, our modern politicians have begun by establishing, that a monarchical constitution could not exist but by a great charter, or by a solemn contract between the king and the people. The necessary consequence of this strange distinction was, that France, having neither a great charter, nor a solemn contract between the king and the people, had no constitution.

This consequence is certainly the only one which occurred to the authors of this definition, or those whom it has deceived: but it presents two others, equally contestable, which well deserve attention. The first is, that England, Denmark, and North America, being the only states which have a charter, or a solemn contract between the

people and the government ; all the others, which have existed in prosperity without it, from the beginning of the world to the present time, may still dispense with it. The second is, that if it were demonstrated, that by the natural progress of civilization and philosophy, a government could not now subsist without a constitution, that is to say, without a charter, or solemn contract between the nation and the government, it follows, of course, that the French revolution must pervade every country, and overturn every government, except those of England, Denmark, and North America. These errors, which have been so disastrous to France, had not, however, the merit or the danger of novelty. They have been long since refuted by Blackstone, in his immortal work on the laws of England. The opinion of that celebrated lawyer and political writer, which has always been cited with veneration in England, may, with confidence, be opposed to the sophistry of our modern Solons.

“ Not that we can believe, with some theoretical writers, that there ever was a time when there was no such thing as society ; and that, from the impulse of reason, and through a sense of their wants and weaknesses, individuals met together in a large plain, entered into an original contract, and chose the tallest man present to be their governor. This notion of an actually existing, unconnected state of nature, is too wild to be seriously admitted.

“ But though society had not its formal beginning from any convention of individuals, actuated by their wants and their fears, yet it is the sense of their weakness and imperfection that keeps mankind together. This demonstrates the necessity of union ; which, therefore, is the solid and natural foundations and origin of society. And this is what we mean by the original contract of society ; which, though perhaps in no instance it has ever been formally expressed at the first institution of a state, yet in nature and reason must always be understood and implied

in the very act of associating together ; for when society is once formed, government results of course, as necessary to preserve and to keep that society in order. Unless some superior be constituted, whose commands and decisions all the members are bound to obey, they would still remain as in a state of nature, without any judge upon earth to define their several rights, and redress their several wrongs.

“ How the several forms of government we now see in the world at first actually began, is matter of great uncertainty, and has occasioned infinite disputes. It is not my business or intention to enter into any of them. However they began, or by what right soever they subsist, there is and must be in all of them a supreme, irresistible, absolute, uncontrolled authority, in which the *jura summi imperii*, or the rights of sovereignty, reside ; and this authority is placed in those hands, wherein (according to the opinion of the founders of such respective states, either expressly given, or collected from their tacit approbation) the

qualities requisite for supremacy, wisdom, goodness, and power, are the most likely to be found."—Vide *Blackstone's Preliminary Discourse*, second section, upon *the nature of general laws*.

"It is indisputable," continues the same author, "that parliaments, or general councils, are coëval with the kingdom itself." Yet it was not till the year 1215 that the constitution of parliament, as it now stands, was established under the reign of king John, by the famous charter granted by that prince.

It is not a little remarkable, (according to the testimony of Blackstone, in the same chapter,) that the execution of this solemn constitution does not appear to have begun till the year 1266, under the reign of Henry the Third.

These facts, and many others which the history of England furnishes, and which it would be tedious to detail, manifestly establish, in the first place, that it is possible for government to have a constitution, without having a great charter. For many ages before

before the *magna charta*, England had a king; consequently a monarchical government, and consequently a constitution; for a government can no more exist without a constitution adapted to it, than an effect can subsist without a cause.

Secondly, That a constitution is not more stable, nor better executed, for being deposited in a charter; for the charter of 1215 was not put in execution till fifty years afterwards, and even then in a very imperfect manner. King John, by that charter, promised to summon all archbishops, abbots, earls, and greater barons, personally, and all other tenants in chief under the crown, by the sheriffs and bailiffs, to meet at a certain place with forty days' notice, to assess, aid, &c.; and king Henry the Third, by the summons of 1266, mentioned by Blackstone, only calls to parliament knights, citizens, and burgesses.

In the present constitution of the parliament, the *magna charta* is only executed with regard to the house of peers, because

the convocation of lords spiritual and temporal necessarily includes archbishops, bishops, earls, and viscounts : but the convocation of the commons does not include all who hold of the crown; but only the citizens and burgesses, summoned by the ordinance of 1266.

It is, however, certain, that a just idea can no more be formed of the English government, such as it exists at present, from a perusal of the great charter, than we could have a knowledge of what the French government was, previous to the revolution, from the *capitularia* of the second race of French kings, which were nevertheless as authentic as the *magna charta*; and some articles of the same *capitularia* were still in force when the revolution began. *“ The great charter,”* as Blackstone observes, *“ which was obtained, sword in hand, from king John, and afterwards, with some alterations, confirmed in parliament by king Henry the Third, contains very few new grants;* but was, for the most part, declaratory of the principal grounds of the fundamental

damental laws of England, afterwards confirmed, by the statute called *confirmatio cartarum*, whereby the great charter is directed to be allowed as the common law; next, by a multitude of subsequent corroborating statutes, from the first Edward to Henry the Fourth; then, after a long interval, by the petition of rights, which was a parliamentary declaration of the liberties of the people, assented to by king Charles the First, in the beginning of his reign; which was closely followed by the still more ample concessions made by that unhappy prince to his parliament, before the fatal rupture between them; and by the many salutary laws, particularly the *babeas corpus* act, passed under Charles the Second. To these succeeded the bill of rights, or declaration delivered by the lords and commons to the prince and princess of Orange, 13th February 1688, and afterwards enacted in parliament, when they became king and queen; which declaration concludes in these remarkable words: 'and they do claim, demand, and insist upon all and singular

singular the premises, as their undoubted rights and liberties.' And the act of parliament itself recognizes ' all and singular the rights and liberties asserted and claimed in the said declaration to be the true, ancient, and indubitable rights of the people of this kingdom.' Lastly, these liberties were again asserted at the commencement of the present century, in the act of settlement, whereby the crown was limited to his present majesty's illustrious house ; and some new provisions were added, at the same fortunate æra, for better securing our religion, laws, and liberties ; which the statute declares to be 'the birth-right of the people of England,' according to the ancient doctrine of the common law."—*Vide Blackstone, book i. chap. i. of absolute rights of individuals.*

It is not then in the great charter, but in the entire body of the English laws, that we must look for the constitution of England ; in the same manner as the ancient constitution of France did not consist in the Salique law, but was composed of the *capitularia*,  
the

the great ordinances issued in consequence of representations of the states general, and in contracts or treaties by which particular provinces were united to the crown; in a word, of all the laws which our kings swore, at their coronation, to maintain. Thus the whole body of the laws by which a state is governed, determines the nature of its government, and forms what is called its constitution. Every other definition must be founded in sophistry or absurdity. These laws are equally sacred and permanent, whether they are deposited in a great charter, or exist independent of it; because the seal of sovereign power stamps on all the same degree of stability and authenticity.

The manner in which these laws are established in every country depends upon the nature of their respective governments, and always indicates the particular form of that government into which they are introduced; for instance, in governments purely monarchical, such as that of France before the revolution, these laws proceeded from the king

king himself; because the right of making new laws, and of abrogating the old, belonged inseparably to the sovereign power, with which he alone was invested.

In mixed or limited monarchies, such as that of England, where the sovereign power resides in a parliament, composed of king, lords, and commons, the laws originate from that parliament; "for," says Blackstone, "by the sovereign power is meant the making of laws; for wherever that power resides, all others must conform to, and be directed by it, whatever appearance the outward form and administration of the government may put on; for it is at any time in the option of the legislature to alter that form and administration by a new edict or rule, and to put the execution of the laws into whatever hands it pleases: and all the other powers of the state must obey the legislative power in the execution of their several functions, or else the constitution is at an end."

This principle is equally recognized by Montesquieu, and by all the political writers

writers whose opinions are of any weight. It is of the more importance to understand it, because the false consequences which have been deduced from it have produced the errors which led to the French revolution, and the crimes which have accompanied it.

“ Every government,” it has been said, “ in which the absolute power of making new laws, and abrogating the old, resides exclusively and finally in the hands of one person, is a despotic government: but this is the very power which exists in the kings of France; for any opposition which may possibly be attempted by the states general, or any resistance made by the parliaments, can have little or no avail, because the states general can never assemble without the king’s leave, and he has the power of silencing the parliaments when he pleases, by *lettres de jussion*, *lettres de cachet*, or *lits de justice*. The French government, therefore, is indisputably despotic.”

I imagine I have stated that fatal argument in all its force, by which the ignorant

or

or perfidious detractors of our monarchy have endeavoured to prove that we were not free, that France had not a constitution, and that of course one must be given to it, &c. &c. But by what inconceivable blindness has it escaped observation, that this argument attacks all existing governments with equal force; and whatever is their nature or form, declares them all to be equally despotic? In truth, no government ever has existed, or ever can, in which an absolute, supreme, and independent power does not exist, as Blackstone has established, in the passage already quoted. The same author moreover observes,

“ The exclusive right of making laws constitutes that sovereign power, wherever it resides; that is to say, when it is lodged in an aggregate assembly, consisting of all the members of the community, which is called a democracy; when it is lodged in a council composed of select members, and then is styled an aristocracy; or when it is intrusted in the hands of a single person,

person, and then takes the name of a monarchy."

In these three sorts of governments the sovereign power is identically the same ; that is to say, one, absolute and irresistible, and in each possesses the exclusive right of making new laws and abrogating the old ; therefore if this power constitutes despotism, it follows, that all governments are equally despotic, only with this difference, that in the democratic, it is the despotism of the multitude ; in the aristocratic, the despotism of a few ; and in the monarchic, the despotism of one man. In vain we change our form of government, we must always find despotism, because we find in all, the same sovereign power, without which no government can exist.

All reasoning contrary to these incontestable principles is founded upon the common mistake of perpetually confounding absolute with arbitrary power ; although the one is the essential and necessary attribute of every government, and the other their degradation. The sovereign power must always be absolute in every government

ment whatever. The moment it ceases to be such, and finds a resistance which it cannot overcome, the resisting force becomes, in fact, the supreme power, insurrection annihilates legal authority, and the government no longer exists. Arbitrary power, or rather the arbitrary exercise of sovereign authority, constitutes despotism: but this arbitrary exercise of sovereign authority is not to be confounded with the power, essentially arbitrary, of making new or revoking old laws, as often as he, or those who are invested with supreme power, think it necessary or useful. It is of importance to pay attention to this distinction; for if the person or persons so invested were not exclusively the sole judges respecting the circumstances which render one particular law preferable to another, it would be indispensably necessary that there should exist another superior authority, on whom that right should devolve, and then the sovereign power would necessarily exist in that superior authority, which of course would possess the power, always *arbitrary*, of making and revoking

revoking laws, but which, considered in a true point of view, cannot be called *despotic*.

I shall only observe, in support of my opinion, that if the faculty, necessarily inherent in the legislature, of enacting new laws, and revoking, arbitrarily, the ancient, was an attribute of despotism, the English government would then be, without doubt, the most despotic upon earth ; for there exist none, in which the legislative power is more completely invested with that authority. Blackstone has declared this in the most positive terms.

“The power and jurisdiction of parliament,” says Sir Edward Coke, “is so transcendant and absolute, that it cannot be confined, either for causes or persons, within bounds. It hath sovereign and uncontrollable authority in making, confirming, enlarging, restraining, abrogating, repealing, reviving, and expounding of laws, concerning matters of all possible denominations, ecclesiastical or temporal, civil, military, maritime, or criminal : this being

the place where that absolute, despotic power, which must in all governments reside somewhere, is entrusted by the constitution of these kingdoms. It can regulate or new-model the succession to the crown ; as was done in the reign of Henry VIII. and William III. It can alter the established religion of the land ; as was done, in a variety of instances, in the reign of king Henry VIII. and his three children. It can change and create afresh even the constitution of the kingdom, and of parliaments themselves ; as was done by the Act of Union, and the several statutes for triennial and septennial elections. It can, in short, do every thing that is not naturally impossible."

Sir Matthew Hale observes, " This being the highest and greatest court, over which none other can have jurisdiction in the kingdom, if by any means a misgovernment should any way fall upon it, the subjects of this kingdom are left without all manner of remedy."

The newly-imagined distinction, made by Montesquieu, betwixt the legislative and executive power, which is regarded by our modern politicians as one of the most valuable discoveries of the age, appears to me in a very different light; the more deeply I have examined it, the more I became convinced of its being a source of errors, as dangerous as subtle: their tendency is nothing less than the destruction of every government. It is upon this distinction that our revolutionary orators have rested all their declamation, and established the pretended principle, "that the legislative and executive power, being in the same hand, constituted despotism." Far from daring to raise the slightest doubt against this assertion, it has been regarded as a fundamental truth, and, of course, the opinion has generally prevailed, that *France, where that union exists, was therefore under the yoke of despotism*; and, that the only means of delivering it from that shameful slavery, was to separate the legislative power from the executive, by a line which neither

could pass, and by placing them in different hands ; but our experience has taught, that as soon as this separation, so simple and innocent in theory, was put in execution, all the springs of government were at once broken ; our ancient monarchy was shaken from the foundation, the edifice fell in pieces, and the most horrible anarchy was raised on its ruins.

Such will be the fate of all kingdoms in which the same doctrine shall be established ; for there is not a single government (I will even venture to assert that none can exist) in which the legislative and executive power are not in some degree united in the same hands, and nearly in the same proportion they formerly were in France ; for this plain reason, that no government can exist without supreme power ; and that what essentially constitutes supreme power, is the right of framing laws, united to the power that is necessary to maintain their execution. In reality, when the legislative power, or rather that of making laws, is

completely separated from the power of enforcing their execution, it is no more than what belongs to every man of an upright understanding, that of writing and publishing precepts, which, when conformable to the principles of morality, and the law of nature, are adopted and followed by all reasonable and good men, without their being constrained to it. But it is not for good men that it is necessary to unite the legislative with the executive power, but for the too numerous class of unjust and ill-intentioned men, who are to be restrained from crimes only by the fear of punishment; and therefore this union has ever been considered as the necessary basis of all governments; for the primitive object of their institution was, to force individuals of every class to obey the established laws for the general interest.

In order to render this truth evident, it will be sufficient to define what must be understood by executive power.

We must, in the first place, distinguish executive power from its immense chain of intermediate agents, from the lord chief justice to the common hangman, who, in all governments, definitively exert the executive power, or consummate its last act. It is to these agents that the function of executing the laws exclusively devolves ; and, consequently, the executive power, considered as an attribute of sovereign power, consists in a right to give to its agents the order of executing the laws ; in the faculty, of furnishing them with the means of enforcing that execution, and the power of rendering them responsible for the execution.

Such is the just and precise definition of executive power. It was in this manner that our kings exerted it in France ; and in this manner that it has been exerted in England, and in all governments whatever ; because it is impossible that it can be otherwise.

If despotism was the consequence of joining the legislative power to the executive,

cutive, such as I have defined it, I could easily demonstrate, that every existing government is despotic.

To begin with republics; it is evident, that, in them, those who make the laws, are the same men who give to their agents the orders and means of enforcing and executing them.

In England, where it is justly boasted, that these two powers are separated as much as possible, without endangering the safety of the state, they are both, in reality, united in the hands of the king, nearly as completely as they were in France, though less so in appearances; with this difference, that in England the plenitude of executive power is placed in the hands of the king without participation or obstacle; whereas in France, the opposition and remonstrances of parliaments, and of the states of the provinces, often stopped the execution of the laws, and sometimes caused them to be revoked or restricted.

The king of England cannot make laws; they must be proposed to him

by the House of Peers and Commons; but no law can be established but such as he approves, and gives his consent to; his assent alone can render it efficient; that is to say, in England, as in France, the king is exclusively invested with the right of exercising that act of sovereignty which essentially constitutes the supreme power, namely, that of making a law valid by his assent, which constitutes the essential part of legislative authority; for the faculty of framing a law \*, is not a political power. In France, the king did not make laws more than in England; they were usually proposed to him by his council, and sometimes by the states general, by the parliaments, or by the states of the provinces: it may be said, indeed, that in France, the ministers who composed the council, being nominated by the king, can have no other will than his, and dare not refuse to draw up any law which he chooses to demand; while, in England, the parliament, which is the only legislative council, is composed

\* Faire des projets de loi.

of the representatives of the nation, either hereditary or elective. But it may be answered to this objection, that the English constitution, whilst apparently reducing that part of the legislative power which belongs to the king, fully compensates it by the means of influence which is put in his hands.

Thus in the present state of the English government, the portion of legislative power exerted by the king, is nearly as extensive as that which the kings of France possessed. It is true, that if the parliamentary reform, which has been so often proposed, but is now deferred till peace, should it ever take place, a new order of things would be introduced, and the influence of the crown greatly weakened. But may it not also happen, (which God forbid !) that the intended reform may entirely overset the government ! However that may be, in my opinion, there is no political truth more evident than this, that the prosperity and safety of a nation depends, and will always depend, in the wise combination of the legislative

lative and executive power in the hands of those to whom the sovereign power is intrusted, which consists in the union of the two powers. I have certainly said enough to prove, that their union never can produce despotism ; that, therefore, the supposed necessity of separating them is a system equally pernicious and absurd. The same may be said of those ideas and exaggerated fears of despotism, which we Frenchmen have had the simplicity to believe inherent in the nature of our government, because there were state-prisons in France, and because ministers sometimes made an unjust use of *lettres de cachet* ; as if there were not state-prisons in the freest countries ; and as if particular acts of tyranny, by the agents of the executive power, which happen in every government, could alter their nature.

With respect to *lettres de cachet*, as no law authorised them, nothing was more easy than to have abolished them irrevocably, on the requisition of the states general, and without altering the form of the go-

vernment; but fear never reasons; and it was, in reality, the panic terror of despotism, which delivered up France to thousands of despots more atrocious and sanguinary than any of those whose crimes have been transmitted by history.

Despotism cannot be called a government, but rather an abuse to which all governments are liable; and perhaps it is less to be feared from those in which sovereign authority is in the hands of one individual, than in those governments where the sovereign power is in the hands of many.

The best constitution is certainly that which is best defended against despotism, and which is provided with the most effectual means of repressing its usurpations; and, perhaps, the ancient constitution of France, which is so little known, and has been so much calumniated, united these two advantages in a degree that ought to have inspired the thinking part of the nation with zeal to defend it.

These

These two propositions are of so much importance as to require a fuller explanation.

I have said, that despotism was less to be apprehended under the government of one, than under that of many. And I have certainly said the truth, if I can prove, that despotism can be more easily introduced, more firmly established, and exercised with greater violence under the government of many, than under that of one. In the first place, all mankind are desirous of power and riches; those who are not in possession of these advantages, wish to acquire them; and those already in possession of them, endeavour to augment what they have.

These passions, which have, with some shades of difference, equally characterised men of every class, in every age and country, may naturally be supposed to have less influence over the minds of princes, who are by birth possessed of more power and riches, than others. It is in the passions of men, but above all, in ambition and avarice, that

that we must search for the cause of despotism. The ambitious man, invested with a little power, is naturally inclined to use every means lawful, or unlawful, to augment it. The avaricious man, if powerful enough to plunder the weak, will not fail to plunder them. The violent, the revengeful, and the cruel, exercise every act of despotism to satisfy those passions, provided that they are endowed with that energy and character requisite for despotism ; for every one has not the power of being despotic who has the inclination to be so.

The same men, who, taken separately, would have an horror at the idea of a single act of despotism, when united, animate and embolden each other to perpetrate many without scruple. Whether it is because the resolution of each individual gains strength from that of the whole, or because the more timid are certain of partaking equally in the additional power or riches resulting from successful acts of despotism, and of having an unequal share of responsibility in the acts which are unsuccessful.

If

If, as I flatter myself, these propositions are just, it evidently follows :

1st, That kings are less inclined to despotism than other men, because they are necessarily less sensible to the two chief passions which lead to it, namely, avarice and ambition. When I say ambition, I mean the love of power ; for a passion for glory, the only one becoming a prince, has nothing in common with despotism.

2d, That a king cannot be a despot unless he unites the violent passions which produce despotism, with the energy and intrepidity necessary to put them in action ; while, on the contrary, in those governments in which power is exerted by many, despotism arises from this union of the passions of some with the energy of others. Accordingly we find in almost every aristocratic government a perpetual bias to augment its power ; because the share which falls to each individual, must be in proportion to the power of the whole. They, therefore, employ the authority which they have by law, in arrogating to themselves what

what does not legally belong to them, and then use the legislative power, by making new laws to sanction their usurpations.

It may happen, however, that a weak prince may have a very despotic minister; our own history furnishes a striking example of this; but, for one man of the energy of cardinal Richlieu, how many instances have we in France of weak kings choosing for their ministers, men who are as weak and as incapable of governing as themselves. In this consists the greatest danger of all monarchical governments. If the chancellor Maupeou had remained in place, it is more than probable that the revolution would not have happened, because neither M. Maurepas nor M. Necker would have been called to the ministry.

I believe I have sufficiently demonstrated that acts of despotism must ever be more frequent under the government of many, than under that of one person; and, consequently, that despotism can be more easily introduced under the first than under the second. It also supports itself more permanently

nently in the former, because the energy, the passions, and vices which produce despotism, are so rarely united in the same person, that it seldom happens that one prince of a despotic character is immediately succeeded by another of the same disposition; whereas, this union exists so strongly in a numerous body of men, that, when once possessed of despotism, they maintain it for a course of years.

In Venice, for example, despotism has existed for ages; whereas, in Constantinople, many sultans may be quoted, whose reigns have not been sullied by a single act of despotism.

The French republic has but too well shewn, by its revolutionary tribunals, by its requisitions, by the law of the *maximum*, &c. &c. that under the government of many, despotism is more oppressive than under the government of one.

I have also asserted, "that it was more difficult to introduce despotism into the ancient constitution of France than perhaps into any other; and that which afforded

afforded the most effectual means of repressing any attempt to that purpose;" and I shall neither be surprised nor offended, if the proofs with which I support my opinion, expose me to the reproach of giving it with too much modesty.

Let us first establish by general principles, and by indisputed facts, what was the nature of the ancient French government, and what were the general laws which collectively formed its constitution.

"A monarchy," says Montesquieu, "is a government where one rules by fixed and established laws." *The Spirit of Laws*, book ii. chap. i.

"Intermediate, subordinate, and dependent powers constitute the nature of a monarchical government; the most natural, intermediate, subordinate power is that of the nobility; it in some measure belongs to the very essence of monarchy. Intermediate ranks are not alone sufficient in monarchy: it is also necessary, that there should be a separate political body of men intrusted with the preservation of the laws,

and authorised to prevent their being forgotten or violated." *Ibid.*

It is evidently the French monarchy which Montesquieu meant to define in this passage, as there is no other in which the various characteristics, which (according to this wise author) constitute a monarchical government, are so completely combined. In effect, the intermediate and subordinate powers it requires, exist, first, in the states general, the nobles among which formed one of the three orders; secondly, in the particular states of some provinces; thirdly, in the parliaments, which were also intrusted with the laws, with their promulgation, and with the duty of maintaining them when they were infringed.

It is true, that the states general had not been assembled since the year 1614. The president Henault, who is much too laconic upon so essential a point of our history, merely observes, "that the particular assembly of the states general of that year, was the last, because it was found that those assemblies were useless." He might, and

and he ought to have supported that opinion by arguments, in explaining by what means the parliaments, ever since the meeting of the states general held at Blois in the year 1588, had been considered, if not as the representatives of the nation, at least as its most faithful and permanent organs, and supplying advantageously by their *remonstrances*, the petitions (*doleances*) of the states general. It was in this point of view, that the order of the *Tiers* at Blois, declared formally in their *cabier*, that the parliaments were the states general in miniature \*.

This declaration, which was not then contradicted by either of the two other orders, has been, in some degree, sanctioned since, both by the acquiescence of the king, and the consent of the nation ; a tacit consent, it must be acknowledged, but indisputably a real one, since the nation, assembled by bailiwicks at the convocation of the

\* Les parlemens étoient des états généraux au petit pied.

states in 1614, did not commission its deputies to protest against it.

The right delegated, or at least tacitly yielded to the parliaments, of enlightening the king by their remonstrances, was in no way prejudicial to the right which the nation had of assembling ; and, accordingly, the states general were convoked immediately on the nation's expressing that desire by the voice of the parliaments, who, at the same time, relinquished the powers with which they had formerly been invested.

This step, which was accompanied with the inconsiderate declaration, that they had usurped these powers, revived the order of things which existed before the states of Blois ; that is to say, that we can no longer regard the convocation of the states as useless ; but, on the contrary, it ought immediately to follow the restoration of order and tranquillity in the kingdom, to afford the king an opportunity of concerting with the states general, some method

of avoiding the inconveniences and dangers of assembling them too often, and in order to re-establish, on a firm basis, all the laws which protect liberty, and secure persons and property, precious and salutary laws, sufficient to prevent the abuses of power and the horrors of anarchy.

Thus, the intermediate and subordinate powers which (according to Montesquieu's definition) constitute a monarchical government, have always existed in France, either in the states general, in the provincial states, or in the parliaments.

This last, as I have already observed, was also entrusted with maintaining the established laws by which the state is governed, the sum total of which forms the constitution ; for this is another essential characteristic of a monarchical government. The established laws are alone obligatory, equally binding to the monarch and the subject, while the despot acknowledges no law but his will, and frequently punishes the crime of not guessing it, with as much severity as that of infringing it when

known. This is what Blackstone denominates making laws *ex post facto*.

We must be careful not to confound this arbitrary and inordinate exercise of supreme power, which is the peculiar attribute of despotism, with the necessary power which governments of every country possess, that of making new laws and abrogating the old. This faculty, whether exercised by many, or placed in the hands of one person, may produce errors and oppressive laws, but not despotism, which always consists in the arbitrary violation of existing laws; and, therefore, can have nothing in common with the faculty of making new laws. Here the two strongest objections, or at least the two most specious which have been made against our ancient government, occur.

“There are not,” it has been said, “any fixed laws in a state when it depends on the will of the king to annul them, and to substitute others; but the king always possessed that right in France, and exerted it; it therefore follows, that there were no fixed

fixed laws in France ; and consequently its government was not monarchical, since, according to the definition of Montesquieu, a monarchical government is that in which one person governs by fixed laws."

" What signifies subordinate and dependent powers ? Of what avail are these in France against the will of the king ?"

It is to be wished, that Montesquieu had been less laconic, in a definition so important, and that he had, at least, explained what he meant by fixed laws : he could not, certainly, mean laws which could never be changed ; for, in that case, his definition of a monarchical government would be a gross error. In effect, the worst and most absurd of all governments would be, undoubtedly, that in which the laws had remained unchangeable from its origin, the constant duty of legislative power being to pursue by new laws, and even accelerate the progress of civilization, useful knowledge, industry, commerce, &c. &c. The manners of one age differ from those of another : new abuses call for new

means of repressing them, as new diseases call for new remedies. The legislator ought to study these variations until he becomes master of them, so as to direct them for the public good.

These incontestable truths shew the absurdity of the system of fixed laws taken in the sense which is given to Montesquieu, by those who employ his definition of a monarchical government, in order to prove that France was not a monarchy.

There are, indeed, unalterable laws which the perversity of man may violate, but which no power on earth can efface. These immutable precepts, which may be regarded as the fundamental laws of all governments, the eternal code of the right of nations, which the Supreme Being has engraven on every heart, forms the basis of what we call the moral or natural law.

“ This law of nature,” as Blackstone observes, “ being coeval with mankind, and dictated by God himself, is of course superior in obligation to any other. It is binding over all the globe, in all countries, and

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at all times: no human laws are of any validity, if contrary to this; and such of them as are valid derive all their force, and all their authority, mediately or immediately, from this original."

But it could not be this sacred law which Montesquieu had in view, it being equally unalterable in every form of government. He only adverted to positive laws, and nobody knew better than he did, that these ought to be and are in their nature revocable. Therefore, when he says that a monarchical government must be ruled by fixed laws, he can only mean, that these laws must be endued with all the forms necessary, in order to insure their execution, until it is judged proper to repeal them; and, also, that the obligations they impose, ought to be explained with such precision, as may prevent the possibility of their suffering any arbitrary extension or restriction. Such was the monarchical government as it existed in France, and such is the true sense of Montesquieu's definition.

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The second objection is not more difficult to be removed : in effect, it is so much the easier to conceive what is meant by the *dependant powers* in a monarchical government ; because that form of government is, in its nature, essentially and necessarily exclusive of any power whatsoever, equal or superior to that of the king ; from the moment that the monarch ceases to be exclusively invested with the plenitude of supreme power, the government ceases to be monarchical.

But (it is said) if these intermediate powers are subordinate and dependent, what effect can they have in opposition to the will of the king ? None, I admit ; and it is fortunate that they have none, as long as he makes an advantageous use of his lawful authority ; but they can produce a very powerful effect when he abuses it. In France, for instance, the states general could refuse their consent to the taxes, which they considered either as useless or too heavy : they could propose new laws, and demand the reform of abuses. It would

would be as difficult to cite an example of the refusal of a just and reasonable demand of that kind, as to give an instance of a tax being established, in spite of their withholding their assent. They had not, indeed, been assembled since the year 1614; but the royal authority, far from being strengthened by that circumstance, had been more fettered and restrained by the continual opposition, and the remonstrances of the parliaments. We cannot now doubt, that the French revolution arose from the circumstance, that the royal authority had no longer sufficient energy to resist these *very dependent and subordinate powers*, which have a perpetual tendency to diminish their own dependence and subordination.

If they had taken less advantage of the state of weakness to which they themselves had reduced the government, even the fatal deficit might have been passed over without any violent effect. We should then have had neither assemblies of notables, nor of the states general, nor a re-

public:

public: we should now be in possession of all we have lost. Even on the supposition, therefore, that the French monarchy were to be re-established, we ought to be much less solicitous to augment the strength of these intermediate powers, than to put it under proper regulation, and with wisdom and caution to ascertain its limits, so that they might assist the king without opposing his legal authority. When these powers are so constituted, they bestow on monarchical government an inestimable advantage of which no other is susceptible, that of erecting a powerful barrier against oppressive laws and abuses of authority of whatever kind. On this account I have already observed, that despotism and tyranny are with more difficulty introduced under the government of one person than under that of many; and, in reality, we find, in aristocratic governments, that the most tyrannical and arbitrary acts being cloathed with the legislative character, by the very power from which they flow, are put into immediate execution, without the possibility

possibility of using any legal means to procure their repeal, or even their modification. The people have then no choice left betwixt passive obedience and insurrection ; and that last resource of despair or of crime often produces a thousand times more evil than it can repair.

Even in England—in that high-spirited nation, which is so enthusiastically attached to its constitution, which it regards as the most popular and free in existence, the people, if loaded with oppressive taxes, have no other means of expressing their discontent but by petitions, (always ineffectual against a bill once passed,) by fruitless declarations of pamphleteers, and, finally, by insurrection.

It is true that that extreme resource is there attended with less danger than elsewhere, either because the minister necessarily having the majority of the parliament in his favour, his party must always be the strongest, or because the greater part of the nation, being convinced that by their representatives they exercise a portion of

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right

the supreme power, do not choose to revolt against their own authority, or to destroy that which they consider as their own work. But although there does not exist in England, an intermediate power betwixt the people and the supreme authority exerted by the parliament, composed of king, lords, and commons, this government has other very valuable advantages; namely, that of losing nothing of its original vigour under the weakest prince, and in having nothing to fear from the incapacity of ministers. During the reign of the weakest, as in that of the most able monarch, the reins of government constantly remain in the hands of the chancellor of the exchequer, who is always a man of the first abilities in the kingdom, and who, having the nomination of the other ministers, never fails to appoint such persons as he thinks most capable of supporting his measures. Unfortunately it was not so in France. Intrigue and favour had the greatest influence, not only in the nomination to employments, but even in the choice of ministers, because the king had

had no means of weighing the merit of those who were presented to him. From thence proceeded that rapid and destructive succession of bad ministers which occasioned the dissolution of the government. This was one of the most considerable and pernicious abuses which, through the weakness of government, had crept into our ancient monarchy; and the present revolution is the fatal consequence.

It would be easy to prove, that it broke out exactly at a period when almost all the important offices of state were filled by men of incapacity. But this abuse was by no means inherent in our ancient constitution; it was, on the contrary, so foreign to it, that until the end of the fifteenth century the appointment to the important place of chancellor of France was made by the king, from a list of three persons elected by delegates from all the sovereign courts of the kingdom, chosen for that purpose; and in each of these courts the appointment of president was made by the king, from a list of three persons chosen by the members of those courts. It would have

been easy, not only to re-establish this form, but infinitely to improve it, by extending it to all offices; dividing them into various classes, and establishing among them necessary gradations. This, if wisely conducted, would have presented to men of merit a fair prospect of gradually attaining the most eminent situations, without any other protection or recommendation but those of talents and of virtue. I know very well that intrigue and cabal have often had too much influence in the ancient manner of election to offices: but this inconvenience would no longer be to be dreaded, if ministers were subjected to a rigorous responsibility, and if all electors who made an indifferent choice should be deprived of the privilege of electing for a certain time; and all who made a bad choice should be deprived of their vote for ever\*.

If the law which should establish this important improvement were, at the requi-

\* I only mention this idea of M. Malesherbes; the complete illustration of it requires a detail too extensive to have a place in this work. I reserve that task for some future period, when it may be fulfilled to the advantage of my country.

sition of the states general, declared to be irrevocable, and if our kings were obliged to take a solemn oath, at their coronation, never to infringe it, the administration would always be composed of the ablest men of the nation, and all public employments would be filled by men of talents and integrity. By this means we should acquire the principal advantages of the English constitution, with this essential difference, that in England this advantage only exists with regard to the nomination of the prime minister ; whereas in France it would extend to all public offices, without exception. One necessary consequence of this law would be to overturn the chief abuses which time introduced into our ancient government, under which we lived for so many ages ; and which, in spite of the vices imputed to it, must have been well suited to the character and genius of the French nation, since it subsisted for such a length of time. It is, however, with this same government that some orators, equally ambitious and imprudent, have endeavoured to disgust us, in order that we

might adopt the English constitution, or a government with permanent assemblies; because this form offered to their selfish vanity and ambition, situations to which their talent for speaking might raise them.

Whatever are the advantages of the British constitution, it must be confessed that it has only subsisted, such as it is at present, one hundred and eight years; therefore it is not absolutely demonstrated that there are not seeds of destruction contained in the very nature of it. I am willing, however, to believe, that this constitution will stand its ground unshaken for ages; and I am convinced, that no form of government could be more suitable to the genius of the English nation: but I am also convinced, that there is none less conformable to that of the French; unless it could be proved that the climates of England and France are the same, and that there is no difference in the manners, characters, and tempers of these two nations; for it has been universally acknowledged, and common sense indicates, that the laws of a country cannot be good, unless they are adapted

adapted to the peculiarities above enumerated. If the English constitution ever comes to be adopted in France, the consequences are not difficult to be foreseen.

The French have too much vivacity and petulance to be capable of carrying on a cold methodical discussion upon any subject whatever. Ten or twelve, even of the wisest and most judicious, cannot continue a conversation, on any interesting subject, for a quarter of an hour, without a degree of heat, which assumes the appearance, and sometimes the nature, of a quarrel ; all of them speaking at once, and all being more capable, and much more inclined, to speak than to listen : but instead of ten or twelve speakers, if there are a greater number, the dispute will be proportionably more loud and violent. It must be still far worse in a house of commons, or in a national assembly, composed of deputies from the whole kingdom ; because in all popular meetings, those who speak most or best are always certain of having most votes : so that the parliament of France would be composed of the greatest talkers in the nation, and would

necessarily be extremely tumultuous; for there never existed a numerous assembly in France which was not tumultuous.

It is impossible to expect wise laws from the deliberations of such a parliament, because the genius requisite to conceive them, the reflexion to combine them, are incompatible with precipitation and passion. The country, of course, would be involved in some new and sudden calamity. But on the supposition that such a parliament could be kept in order by the means of influence and corruption, the enormous additional expence which would be the consequence of that system, would require such an additional taxation as would be most oppressive to a nation like France, which has not the prodigious resources that England derives from her commerce; therefore these taxes would unavoidably be raised upon land, and upon the immediate necessaries of life; for after the devastation and ruin of the revolution, it will be long before much can be produced by taxes on luxury. It must also be considered, that France, from its situation, being forced, in times

of peace, to keep up a standing army, eight times more numerous than that of England, requires larger funds, not only for the regular expences of this army, but also to allow for peculation ; an abuse which will undoubtedly be tolerated, because military employments being the principal means of influence possessed by government, it could not restrain the profits annexed to them, without diminishing that influence.

If these considerations have not sufficient weight to make the enthusiasts of the British constitution renounce their desire of attempting its establishment in France, it would be easy to demonstrate, that she never will be in a situation to defray the expences of such an experiment. Let us suppose, contrary to all probability, that the English form of government should, upon its introduction into France, immediately acquire the same degree of vigour and stability which it only attained in England by the improvements which experience suggested ; even in that case the annual expence of administration, at the same rate

which it costs in England, with more than double the extent of territory and population, and an army eight times more numerous, would amount to above forty millions sterling ; that is, more than double the annual expence of government before the revolution ; and it is but too evident, that France is not in a situation to support such an expence. All idea of ever establishing the British constitution in that country must therefore be renounced \*.

What government, then, is best fitted for France ? There is only one—that under which it flourished during the course of so many ages ; that which its present calami-

* For the service of the year 1785, the British parliament	
decreed for the army, composed of 18,053 men, the sum of	
	£. 2,286,263
For the artillery	350,820
Total	2,637,083

An army eight times more numerous, would amount to 144,424 men, and the expence would amount to the sum of 21,096,344 l. ; that is to say, 527,408,600 livres.

The expences of a republican form of government being more considerable than those of a monarchical, France is less able to support them. It has not hitherto, and never will be able, but by ruining all the monied men by continual bankruptcies, and all the landed men by enormous taxation.

ties perpetually recall to our saddened remembrance ; and to which the irresistible force of time and events must bring us back, sooner or later. May the prince who is called upon to revive this ancient constitution secure its stability by a solemn and irrevocable law, which may for ever prevent its being exposed to the danger which incessantly threatens all monarchies ; namely, that of perishing under a weak administration ! That salutary law, of which the revolution pointed out the necessity, and which will become the *palladium* of every monarchical state wherein it shall be adopted, will consist, principally, in admitting to all offices of administration none but men who are generally acknowledged to be capable of fulfilling them, by having displayed talents and merit in inferior situations. This law, by obliging ministers to a rigorous responsibility, would effectually prevent the abuses of the old government. France would then be truly regenerated, and might hope, in some degree, to repair her disasters, and to see peaceful and

happy days under a king, whose power to do good would be unlimited, and who would be deprived of the means of doing ill; for there is no degree of prosperity which may not be promoted by a king, seconded by able and well-inclined ministers; and what evil has he in his power, with ministers who are inevitably responsible for whatever evil the king shall do? Their wisdom, discernment, and firmness would preclude the effects of the weakness and even the vices of the monarch; by their dextrous management, the violence of his character would, in the eyes of the people, appear energy; his weakness, moderation; his avarice, economy; and his profusion, liberality.

Under so happy a government, the love of our king and of our country, sentiments which, when they were linked together, were strongly felt by Frenchmen, but which are now annihilated in consequence of being disjoined, would revive in every breast, and all the seeds of sedition and revolution would be blasted for ever.

## APPENDIX.

## No. I.

*Lettre de M. Bertrand de Moleville, ci-devant ministre de la Marine, au Président de la Convention Nationale.*

“ Londres, le 6 Novembre 1792.

“ Monsieur le Président,

“ **Q**UOIQUÉ le droit de résister à l'op-  
pression emporte nécessairement celui  
de la fuir, lorsque tous les moyens de résis-  
tance sont anéantis ; comme il ne répugne  
pas moins à mon caractère, qu'à mes prin-  
cipes de fuir mes ennemis, et de déserter ma  
patrie ; je m'empresse de dénoncer moi-  
même à la convention nationale, mon ab-  
sence momentanée du royaume, et les cir-  
constances impérieuses qui l'ont rendue in-  
dispensable ;

dispensable ; elles sont détaillées dans l'acte dont la teneur s'ensuit :

“ ‘ L'an 1792, et le 11 Octobre. Nous Antoine-François Bertrand de Moleville, ci-devant ministre d'état au département de la marine, ayant éprouvé, de la part de tous les officiers publics auxquels nous nous sommes adressés, le refus le plus formel de retenir et expédier aucun acte de notre volonté, dans la crainte de se compromettre, attendu les circonstances, avons rédigé, et écrit de notre main, la déclaration suivante, pour servir et valoir ce que de raison, en attendant que notre position nous permette de lui donner une forme plus authentique.

“ ‘ Objet d'une persécution aussi injuste que barbare ; signalé comme suspect des plus grands crimes, quand je n'ai pas à me reprocher la faute le plus légère, et quand on n'a pas l'ombre d'une preuve à m'opposer ; réduit à me cacher, depuis plus de deux mois, pour soustraire ma tête au fer des assassins, je devois espérer, sans doute, qu'après un aussi long terme leur rage seroit enfin appaisée : mais l'heureux hasard

fard qui m'en a préservé, n'a fait que l'irriter encore davantage. Non content des attentats dirigés contre ma personne, et exercés contre mes propriétés, le comité de surveillance de la commune n'a pas balancé à faire arrêter mes deux frères, sans preuves, sans indices, sans dénonciation quelconque, et à les faire jeter dans les cachot de l'Abbaye et de la Force, quelques jours avant l'époque fixée pour le massacre des prisonniers ; et sur les représentations que le plus jeune des deux essaya de faire contre l'illégalité d'un emprisonnement sans motifs, le commissaire qui l'interrogeoit osa lui faire cette réponse révoltante : *Les gens de votre espèce ont assez usé des lettres-de-cachet du despotisme, il est temps qu'ils connaissent les lettres-de-cachet populaires.* Heureusement le peuple, moins altéré de mon sang, même dans l'affreuse journée du 2 Septembre, a eu la justice d'épargner le sang de mes frères, et de proclamer leur innocence. Mes ennemis, trompés encore une fois dans leurs espérances homicides, ont fait une nouvelle tentative, dont l'horrible succès a mis

mis le comble à mon malheur ; ils ont, tout récemment, faire mettre le feu au château qui étoit la principale habitation de ma famille ; tous les titres, meubles, et effets qui y étoient renfermés, ont été la proie des flammes ; et mon malheureux père, dévoré par le chagrin que lui causoit la position critique de ses trois enfans, n'a pas pu résister à cette dernière catastrophe : peu de jours après en avoir reçu la nouvelle, nous avons appris que la mort venoit de nous enlever ce vieillard, moins respectable encore par son âge, que par ses vertus.

“ Accablé sous le poids de tant de calamités, et ne pouvant pas supporter l'idée d'être même innocemment la cause d'un échec aussi considérable dans la fortune de mes frères, je n'ai pas dû balancer un instant à prendre le seul parti qui puisse les en dédommager : en conséquence je leur ai déjà déclaré, et je leur déclare et notifie de nouveau, par le présent acte, que je renonce, formellement, à la succession de mon père, en quoi qu'elle consiste ou puisse consister ; et que je donne mon consentement, pur et simple,

simple, à ce qu'elle soit partagée entre eux, conformément à la loi, comme si je n'existois pas : et attendu que ma position actuelle me prive de tous les moyens de donner à cette déclaration l'authenticité nécessaire pour en assurer la validité, parce qu'aucun notaire n'ose me prêter son ministère, dans la crainte de se compromettre ; et que la succession de mon père étant ouverte depuis plusieurs jours, ne peut pas rester plus long-temps en suspens, je promets et m'oblige d'aller chercher, le plutôt qu'il me sera possible, dans une terre étrangère, mais non en-nemie, un officier public qui veuille recevoir le dépôt du présent acte, que je termine par la déclaration solennelle, que loin de vouloir abandonner ma patrie, où je laisse tout ce qui m'est cher pour garant de mon retour, je serai très-empêtré d'y rentrer, aussitôt que l'impunité des plus grands crimes n'y sera plus regardée comme une des prérogatives de la liberté.

“ Fait à Paris, le jour et an que dessus : et copie du présent, écrite et signé de ma main comme l'original, a été par moi remise,

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le dit jour, à mes deux frères, en attendant l'expédition en forme, que je leur enverrai incessamment.

(Signé), DE BERTRAND.'

"Pressé de remplir un engagement aussi sacré, et désirant d'ailleurs, depuis long-temps, de connoître une nation sage, heureuse, juste, et vraiment libre, je suis parti pour l'Angleterre. Mon premier empressement, en y arrivant, a été de faire expédier, en forme authentique, par le notaire de la légation de France, ma rénonciation à la succession de mon père, et de l'adresser à mes frères.

"Tels sont les seuls motifs de mon départ. Il est assez évident en effet, que, si les inquiétudes les plus fondées sur ma sûreté personnelle avoient été capables de me déterminer à sortir du royaume, je n'aurois pas différé aussi long-temps de profiter des mêmes moyens que je viens d'employer, et qui ont toujours été en mon pouvoir; car j'ai été instruit, dans le temps, de tous les mouvemens qu'on s'est donnés, des recherches

recherches sans nombre qui ont été faites pour découvrir le lieu de ma retraite, et tâcher de me constituer prisonnier, soit à la Force, soit à Abbaye, soit à Orléans, avant l'époque à jamais exécrable du 2 Septembre.

“ Quel peut donc être le motif d'un acharnement aussi persévérant ? C'est ce qu'il est difficile d'expliquer quand on considère que les persécutions sans cesse renaissantes que j'ai éprouvées pendant mon ministère, n'ont pu produire qu'un mémoire, dont toutes les preuves avoient pour base unique trois assertions, démontrées fausses par les pièces même du rapport, ainsi que je l'ai constaté dans mon compte (page 5 et suivantes) ; et ce mémoire, adressé au roi par l'assemblée nationale, avoit pour objet de prouver que je ne méritois pas la confiance de la nation, quoique cette proposition eût été formellement rejetée, la veille, par un décret rendu après un appel nominal,

“ S'il pouvoit rester encore quelques doutes sur mon irréprochabilité, j'ose dire qu'ils seroient tous levés par le décret même  
d'accusa-

d'accusation, rendu le 16 Août dernier, contre les personnes qui occupoient le ministère le 11 Novembre précédent, et par conséquent contre moi. Ce décret est fondé uniquement sur quelques énonciations aussi vagues qu'insignifiantes, hasardées dans un bulletin anonyme, apocryphe, et d'une écriture inconnue, qu'on dit avoir été trouvé chez le roi, dans la journée du 10. Il faut être bien pur, et bien exempt du moindre tort réel, pour obtenir l'honneur d'être accusé d'un délit imaginaire, sur une pièce si évidemment indigne de foi sous tous les rapports, que, devant le tribunal le plus rigoureux, elle n'auroit pas même la consistance du plus léger indice.

“ Je ne me dissimule pas néanmoins, que, dans le moment terrible où les loix étoient sans force, la justice sans ministres, et l'innocence sans appui, où le peuple, croyant voir par-tout des conspirateurs, ou des traîtres, ne respiroit que vengeance, un décret d'accusation, violemment provoqué par les clamours des tribunes contre plusieurs

plusieurs ministres, pouvoit être considéré comme un moyen d'appaiser l'effervescence générale. Je conviens aussi que les mêmes circonstances s'opposoient également au succès des réclamations que j'adressai au corps législatif, contre ce décret, quatre jours après qu'il eut été rendu ; mais aujourd'hui que le rétablissement de l'empire de la justice et des loix est ardemment désiré par tous les citoyens ; que le peuple, indigné des écarts dans lesquels il a été entraîné, attend et sollicite la punition des scélérats qui ont abusé de sa confiance, au point de le rendre l'instrument de leur barbarie, de leurs vengeances personnelles, ou de leur cupidité ; il n'est pas possible qu'un décret d'accusation, déterminé, arraché par des circonstances toutes contraires, soit maintenu, non-seulement parce que ce feroit consacrer une injustice révoltante, mais parce que la dignité de la nation Françoise ne permet pas à ses représentans d'intenter en son nom une accusation capitale sur des soupçons vagues et dénués de tout espèce de preuve. L'abus le plus

effrayant que les membres des assemblées nationales pourroient faire de leur non-responsabilité, feroit sans doute de se jouer impunément par des décrets d'accusation peu refléchis, de l'honneur et de la liberté des citoyens, on peut même dire, de leur vie, après les massacres sans nombre, dont le souvenir horrible souillera éternellement la mémoire des derniers momens de l'existence de la législature précédente. De quels regrets, de quels remords ne doivent pas être tourmentés ceux de ses membres qui, pour avoir trop légèrement provoqué des décrets d'accusation, ou concouru par leur suffrage à les faire passer, ont à se reprocher d'avoir dévoué à la mort la plus atroce, une infinité de victimes, dont quelques-unes étoient absolument innocentes, et dont le plus grand nombre n'auroit jamais pu être condamné à une peine capitale, d'après le titre même de l'accusation ! sup. notaq. sicut

“Fermement convaincu que la convention nationale ne voudra pas s'exposer à de semblables regrets, j'ai l'honneur de vous adresser mes réclamations contre le

décret du 16 Août ; et je vous prie, Monsieur, de les mettre sous les yeux de l'assemblée. J'ose espérer qu'elle y aura égard ; et afin que mes ennemis ne puissent pas y mettre obstacle en renouvelant les inculpations calomnieuses qui ont servi de motif à toutes les vexations qu'ils m'ont fait éprouver, et particulièrement aux recherches aussi violentes qu'infructueuses, qui ont été faites, non-seulement chez moi, mais chez mes parens, et chez mes voisins, sous prétexte de trouver des preuves de mes relations prétendues criminelles avec la cour, et de ma complicité dans les conspirations, vraies ou fausses, dont on l'accuse, je vous préviens, Monsieur, que j'adresserai incessamment à l'assemblée une déclaration authentique de tous les faits importans et ignorés, dont j'ai eu connaissance pendant et depuis mon ministère, et qui ont quelque rapport aux circonstances présentes. J'indiquerai les témoins, ou les preuves, de tous ceux que l'assemblée voudra approfondir. Je

ccc

dirai

dirai tout ce que je fais ; et ce que je dirai, pourra conduire à des découvertes très-intéressantes.

(Signé) **DE BERTRAND.**

*Réclamation adressée à la convention nationale, par M. Bertrand de Moleville, ci-devant ministre de la marine ; contre le décret d'accusation du 16 Août dernier, rendu contre les anciens ministres.*

“ LE pouvoir d'accuser sans preuve quelconque, et celui de punir sans jugement légal, sont les attributs les plus révoltans du despotisme ; aucun de ces pouvoirs ne peut donc exister sous un gouvernement libre, sans une violation manifeste des droits naturels et imprescriptibles de l'homme, auxquels les représentans de la nation sont dans l'heureuse impuissance de porter la moindre atteinte.

“ La loi doit être la même pour tous, soit qu'elle protège, soit qu'elle punisse (Déclaration des Droits, art. VI) ; et les mêmes délits

délits doivent être punis des mêmes peines, sans aucune distinction de personnes. (Tit. 1<sup>er</sup>, art. 3.)

“ La réclamation que je forme aujourd’hui est tellement fondée sur ces bases essentielles du droit naturel, qu’il n’est pas possible de la rejeter sans les anéantir.

“ Le 16 Août dernier, sur la simple lecture d’une note prétendue trouvée dans la chambre du roi, et datée du 11 Novembre précédent, il a été rendu, sans examen, ni discussion préalable sur la forme de cette pièce, ni sur ses résultats, un décret d’accusation contre toutes les personnes qui composoient alors le ministère, et par conséquent contre moi.

“ Cette note est intitulée : ‘ Projet du Comité des ministres, concerté avec M. M. Alexandre Lameth et Barnave.’

“ Je dois d’abord déclarer & affirmer, sans craindre d’être démenti, 1<sup>o</sup>, Que je n’ai jamais connu MM. Lameth ni Barnave ; j’ai vu seulement ce dernier une fois chez moi, dans les premiers jours de mon ministère, relativement aux affaires des

colonies, dont il avoit été rapporteur. Je ne l'ai pas revû depuis, et j'ignore ce qu'il est devenu.

“ 2°, Que je n'ai eu aucune connoissance quelconque de la note dont il s'agit, ni de son contenu, et que, pendant mon ministère, il n'en a jamais été question, soit au conseil, soit dans aucun des comités de ministres auxquels j'ai assisté.

“ Cette affirmation ne seroit sans doute d'aucun poids contre une preuve acquise ; mais il est assez évident que je n'ai pas même ici le plus léger indice à combattre. Il faudroit en effet, pour que cette pièce pût être considérée comme un indice, qu'elle fût écrite de la main du roi, ou de celle d'un de ses ministres ; car si, pour être réputé criminel, il suffissoit d'être nommé ou désigné dans un écrit quelconque, trouvé dans l'appartement, ou dans le secrétaire du roi, quel est le citoyen honnête qui ne trembleroit pas de se trouver compromis, en pensant que dans la matinée du 10 d'Août, cet appartement et ce secrétaire ont été ouverts à tous ceux qui ont voulu

voulu y entrer, et y fouiller, et auxquels il étoit aussi facile d'y glisser des papiers, que d'en enlever ?

“ Mais quand même la note dont il s'agit seroit écrite de la main du roi, ou d'un de ses ministres, et que ce fait, dont les commissaires préposés à la levée des scellés n'ont pas parlé, seroit bien constaté, il resteroit encore à examiner, si le projet prétendu concerté par les ministres avec MM. Barnave et Lameth, étoit véritablement contraire aux intérêts de l'état ; car un projet évidemment avantageux à la nation, ne seroit certainement pas un crime aux yeux de ses représentans, par quelques personnes qu'il eût été concerté.

“ Le 1<sup>er</sup> article de cette note, et sans doute celui qui a fait l'impression la plus grave, ne contient que ces mots :

“ 1<sup>o</sup>, Refuser la sanction.

“ Sur une énonciation aussi vague et aussi générale, je me bornerai à observer que la sanction étant un droit essentiellement inhérent à la royauté, et dont le monarque étoit personnellement investi par la

constitution, non comme chef du pouvoir exécutif, mais en sa qualité de représentant de la nation, je n'ai jamais vu, pendant mon ministère, l'exercice de ce droit soumis aux délibérations du conseil ; le roi entendoit seulement, sur les décrets de détail, les observations que pouvoit avoir à lui faire le ministre du département qu'ils concernoient, et il se décidoit, sur les autres, d'après ses lumières et sa conscience. Ces faits et ces principes, dont l'exactitude ne sauroit être contestée, démontrent combien il seroit injuste et inconstitutionnel de prononcer sur un refus de sanction, un décret d'accusation contre des ministres aux quels cet acte est absolument étranger, et entièrement hors de leur responsabilité, soit qu'ils aient été consultés sur la sanction, soit qu'ils ne l'aient pas été.

“ Les quatre articles suivans énoncent différentes démarches, dont quelques-unes n'ont pas été faites.

“ Le surplus de cette note assigne au ministre de la justice, à celui des affaires étrangères, à celui de la guerre, et à celui de l'intérieur, des rôles qu'aucun d'eux n'a rempli ;

rempli ; il n'y est fait aucune mention du ministre des impositions, ni de celui de la marine.

“ Ainsi, quand même cette pièce seroit authentique, on n'y trouveroit pas le plus léger indice d'un projet quelconque, concerté avec eux. Voilà à quoi se réduit cet écrit, dont la seule lecture a fait prononcer, par acclamation, un décret d'accusation contre tous les ministres qui étoient en place au mois de Novembre dernier. Il n'est pas étonnant, sans doute, que dans des moments d'orage et d'irritation générale, l'annonce d'un complot, concerté entre les ministres, et des personnes signalées comme suspectes, ait entraîné violemment toutes les opinions au parti le plus sévère ; mais autant ce mouvement a pû, sous ce point de vue, paroître louable dans ses motifs, autant il seroit oppressif dans ses effets, s'il n'étoit pas dirigé et modéré par les principes d'une justice aussi exacte que rigoureuse. Heureusement l'acte d'accusation n'a pas été rédigé, et par conséquent il est temps encore de soumettre à un examen froid et réfléchi

réfléchi cette note apocryphe, destinée à servir de base à l'accusation la plus considérable, qui puisse être intentée par les représentans de la nation, puisque son effet nécessaire est d'entacher six ministres à la fois, du soupçon de haute trahison, et d'appeler sur leurs têtes et sur leurs propriétés, toute la fureur des vengeances populaires.

“ En rapprochant la note dont il s'agit, des évenemens qui se sont passés à l'époque indiquée par sa date, il est aisé de reconnoître qu'elle ne peut se rapporter qu'au message du 12 Novembre, dont l'objet étoit effectivement d'annoncer le refus de sanction d'un décret relatif aux émigrés, la proclamation qui fut publiée contre eux le même jour, et les réquisitions adressées aux puissances pour empêcher leur rassemblement ; que par conséquent ce bulletin rédigé d'après les conjectures et les propos publics, qui avoient précédé cet démarché, n'est et ne peut être autre chose qu'une feuille de ces nouvelles à la main dont il existoit alors plusieurs rédacteurs, qui, quoique moins instruits que la plupart des jour-

journalistes, faisoient payer leurs nouvelles beaucoup plus cher, parce qu'elles étoient manuscrites.

“ Après avoir ainsi démontré qu'un écrit aussi indigne, à tous égards, de fixer l'attention du corps législatif, peut encore moins servir de base à une accusation capitale intentée en son nom, j'oseraï réclamer en ma faveur le bénéfice des formes sagement établies, et constamment observées, jusqu'à ce jour, en matière de dénonciations. Il étoit sans exemple, avant le 16 Août dernier, qu'un décret d'accusation eût été rendu, même contre un ministre, sans que les pièces produites, et les faits articulés contre l'accusé, eussent été examinés et vérifiés par un comité, auquel l'accusé pouvoit adresser ses pièces et moyens justificatifs : tout récemment encore, une inculpation, injuste sans doute, mais très-grave, et appuyée de pièces plus ou moins probantes, avoit été formée contre M. Servan ; le corps législatif ne balança pas à en renvoyer l'examen à un de ses comités ; et en attendant que le rapport qui devoit en être fait,

fait, l'eût complètement justifié des prévarications dont il étoit accusé, l'assemblée s'interdisit si scrupuleusement toute opinion défavorable à M. Servan, qu'elle le rappella au ministère.

“ Fondé sur cet exemple, et sur la déclaration des droits de l'homme, que le nouvel ordre de choses n'a point anéanti, et dont l'article VI. porte, *Que la loi doit être la même pour tous, soit qu'elle protège, ou qu'elle punisse*; je demande que le décret du 16 Août dernier soit rapporté; qu'en conséquence, la note du 11 Novembre, trouvée dans les papiers du roi, soit renvoyée à un des comités de la convention nationale, pour être statué, sur son rapport, ainsi qu'il appartiendra.

“ Si, sur ce rapport, le décret d'accusation est confirmé, exempt de crainte, comme de tout reproche, je m'empresserai d'y obéir avec la soumission que tout bon citoyen doit à la loi, aussi-tôt que son empire sera parfaitement rétabli.

(Signé) DE BERTRAND.”

No. II.

*Extrait de la déclaration adressée à la convention nationale par le ci-devant trésorier général de la liste civile, le 9 Novembre 1792.*

“ Il a été dit dans plusieurs journaux, et notamment dans le *Moniteur*, qu'on avoit trouvé chez le trésorier général de la liste civile, des reçus des deux frères du roi, ainsi que de MM. Bouillé et la Fayette, pour des sommes considérables. Le trésorier de la liste civile a affirmé devant le Lord Maire de Londres, le 7 Septembre dernier, ‘ Que jamais il n'avoit été chargé, par le roi, de payer ni d'envoyer, et qu'il n'a jamais fait payer ni envoyé aucune somme aux deux frères du roi, ni à MM. La Fayette et Bouillé ; et qu'ainsi, si l'on prétendoit avoir trouvé, dans ses papiers, aucuns reçus en son nom, soit des deux princes, ou desdits sieurs la Fayette et

Bouillé, lesdits reçus ne pourroient être regardés que comme pièces fausses et calomnieuses.' Les seuls paiemens faits sur la liste civile, relatifs à M. le Comte d'Artois, sont des remboursemens de cautionnemens, donnés par le roi à d'anciens créanciers du prince ; il a aussi été donné quelques secours pour l'éducation des enfans de M. le Comte d'Artois à Turin. Ces faits sont aisés à éclaircir par les pièces de comptabilité.

"A l'égard d'un compte de M. de Bouillé, trouvé dans les papiers de la liste civile, l'examen de ce compte prouvera aisément que ce n'est pas un pièce de dépense pour le trésorier. On lui a remis cet état, avec toutes les pièces qui l'accompagnent, au mois d'Octobre 1791, pour recevoir une somme de 19,000 liv. environ, qui lui a effectivement été apportée, et qu'il a remise au roi, suivant la mention faite en marge de ce compte. Le trésorier de la liste civile n'avoit jamais eu connoissance des paiemens faits à M. de Bouillé ; mais il est facile de voir que cette affaire a précédé le voyage de

de Varennes, et l'acceptation de la constitution.

Il a été dit que le roi entretenoit à Coblenz son ancienne maison militaire, et particulièrement les gardes du corps. Le roi leur avoit conservé leur traitement, jusqu'à ce que, par le résultat d'un plan général de réforme dont l'intendant de la liste civile a dit au trésorier qu'il s'occupoit, les pensions de retraite des anciens gardes du corps eussent été réglées ; mais peu de tems après le décret qui a assujetti aux certificats de résidence, l'intendant de la liste civile a écrit au trésorier, au commencement de Novembre 1791, que l'intention du roi étoit, qu'à l'avenir les traitemens conservés à son ancienne maison militaire, ne fussent plus payés que sur des certificats de résidence dans le royaume, et particulièrement pour les anciens gardes du corps ; cette lettre lui annonçoit en même tems, qu'ils ne seroient plus payés en masse, mais individuellement, à la caisse de la liste civile, en accompagnant la quittance de chacun

chacun, de son certificat de résidence. On doit trouver cette lettre chez le trésorier de la liste civile ; il en a remis l'ampliation au chef du bureau de la trésorerie, chargé des dépenses de la maison militaire, avec la recommandation la plus expresse de se conformer aux intentions du roi ; les états nominatifs ordonnancés lui ont été remis à cet effet, pour acquitter les six derniers mois 1791. Il sera aisé de reconnoître par la somme considérable qui reste à payer sur ces états, que les ci-devant gardes du corps, émigrés, n'ont rien reçu.

“ A l'égard des anciens gardes du corps, que l'on dit souvent avoir été entretenus à Coblenz, le trésorier de la liste civile ne peut que répéter ce qu'il a déjà dit dans sa déclaration du 9 de ce mois ; c'est que le traitement, le secours que le roi avoit conservé à ses anciens gardes du corps, jusqu'au règlement de leur pension de retraite, ne devoit leur être payé que sur des certificats de résidence en France : les ordres du roi étoient formels à cet égard ; l'intendant de la liste civile les avoit fait connoître au trésorier

le même ordre au chef de bureau de la trésorerie, chargé des pensions militaires. Pour assurer l'exécution de cet ordre, les états ordonnancés, relatifs aux anciens gardes du corps, ne se payoient plus en masse ; la même lettre de l'intendant de la liste civile, du mois de Novembre 1791, qui a dû être trouvée chez le tresorier, et, par ampliation dans ses bureaux, annonce que les ci-devant gardes du corps ne seront payés qu'individuellement, et sur la représentation, de la part de chacun, de son certificat de résidence. Enfin, le trésorier de la liste civile peut ajouter ici, comme il l'a déjà dit, dans sa première déclaration, que plus de la moitié de la somme portée aux états ordonnancés des anciens gardes du corps, n'a, dans le fait, pas été payée ; que, par conséquent, les émigrés, ni même les non-résidens en France, n'ont rien reçu.

(Signé) SEPTEUIL."

*Le ci-devant trésorier-général de la liste civile a affirmé la vérité des faits contenus dans les réponses ci-dessus, sous son serment,*

VOL. III.

DD

*prété*

*prête entre les mains du chevalier Sanderson, Lord-Maire de la ville de Londres, le 13 Novembre 1792, dont il a été dressé acte par Tobie Atkinson, notaire à Londres; ledit acte légalisé le même jour 13 Novembre, par M. Chauvelin.*

No. III.

*Seconde Lettre de M. Bertrand de Moleville,  
ci-devant Ministre de la Marine, au  
Président de la Convention Nationale de  
France.*

“ Londres, le 16 Novembre, 1792.

“ Monsieur le President,

“ J'AI eu l'honneur de vous annoncer par ma dernière lettre, que je vous adresserois incessamment une déclaration exacte de tous les faits importants et ignorés dont j'ai connoissance et qui ont quelque rapport aux circonstances présentes. Je me hâte d'autant plus de remplir cet engagement, que j'apprends par les papiers publics que la discussion est déjà ouverte sur la grande question de savoir si Louis XVI. doit être jugé, et que la Convention Nationale est disposée à accueillir favorablement les lumières et renseignemens qui lui seront donnés sur une affaire aussi grave. Je me

flatte qu'elle sera satisfaite de ceux que j'ai l'honneur de lui adresser, par ce que j'ai la conviction profonde qu'elle ne cherche que la vérité, qu'elle ne veut que la justice ; cette conviction seule suffit pour calmer les inquiétudes des bons citoyens et pour soutenir les espérances de ceux qui ayant été à portée de voir de plus près la conduite de Louis XVI. et de connoître ses vertus, ne peuvent pas s'empêcher de prendre un grand intérêt à ses malheurs.

“ Voici les faits dont j'atteste la vérité et dont je puis rapporter ou indiquer les preuves.

*Faveur et Secours prétendus accordés aux Emigrés.*

“ On a publié dans tous les journaux, dans tous les pamphlets, on a répété mille fois à la tribune, que le roi avoit constamment approuvé et favorisé l'émigration. Cette opinion, à l'appui de laquelle on n'a cité que des faits calomnieusement supposés ou alterés, est devenue l'opinion générale du royaume,

royaume, et le principal motif des adresses regicides qui se renouvellement chaque jour. Il est aisé de démontrer par des faits prouvés l'injustice extrême de ce reproche.

“ Vers la fin du mois d'Octobre 1791, un des ministres ayant instruit le roi en plein conseil du bruit généralement répandu que les émigrés armés contre la France, et particulièrement les gardes du corps, étoient payés par la liste civile—‘ C'est une calomnie insigne (répondit le roi sur le ton le plus ferme) ; j'ai au contraire donné l'ordre les plus exprès à M. de la Porte de ne faire payer que ceux qui rapporteront les certificats exigés par le décret du mois de Juillet dernier, et je suis sûr que cet ordre est exécuté : on m'a proposé d'en excepter les gardes du corps, mais je m'y suis refusé.’

“ Malgré cet ordre, dont l'existence peut être attestée par plusieurs députés auxquels il a été ccommuniqué en original et qui d'ailleurs a du se trouver chez M. de Septeuil, on a continué à débiter que les gardes du corps émigrés étoient payés par la liste

D D 3 civile,

civile, et ce fait est avancé comme constant page 10 et 11 du rapport fait à l'assemblée dans la séance du 27 Septembre dernier : le rapporteur n'a pas fait attention que les seules pièces qu'il citoit à l'appui de son assertion en démontroient évidemment la fausseté : la première est un mémoire trouvé dans le secrétaire du roi, par lequel M. de Poix proposoit de faire payer le corps entier des gardes du corps jusqu'au 1 Janvier 1792 ; si le roi eut approuvé cette proposition il auroit mis son *bon* au bas du mémoire et l'auroit renvoyé à l'intendant de la liste civile, ainsi de cela seul que ce mémoire a été trouvé non apostillé dans le secrétaire du roi, il en résulte la preuve la plus complète que le roi n'y a eu aucun égard. Quant aux ordonnances de payement, signées par le roi, au bas des états généraux des quatre compagnies de ses gardes, il suffit de rapprocher ces états du registre des payemens pour se convaincre qu'on n'a réellement payé que les gardes du corps qui ont constaté leur résidence dans la forme prescrite par les décrets,

décrets, et que s'ils ont tous été compris dans les états ordonnances, c'est uniquement parce qu'on ignoroit quels étoient ceux qui étoient émigrés et ceux qui ne l'étoient pas. C'est par cette raison que dans les mêmes circonstances les ministres de la guerre et de la marine ordonnaient pareillement dans leur département, les états généraux des officiers de chaque corps sans que la loi des certificats de résidence fut violée, parceque son exécution étoit toujours garantie par la vigilance et par la responsabilité personnelle des trésoriers, conformément aux dispositions de ce décret. Il est d'ailleurs constaté par une lettre de M. de Poix, rapportée page 16 du 13<sup>ème</sup> recueil des pièces trouvées chez M. de la Porte, que l'exécution de ces ordonnances de payement étoit si fort retardée que le 28 Janvier dernier il n'y avoit eu rien de payé sur le reste de solde des six premiers mois 1791.

“Si je citois les lettres écrites par le roi dans les premiers jours d'Octobre 1791, aux officiers de l'armée, et à ceux du corps

de la marine, pour engager ceux qui étoient sortis du royaume à y rentrer et pour y retenir ceux qui pouvoient avoir le projet d'émigrer, on me diroit sans doute qu'on ne peut en rien conclure parceque ces lettres étoient l'ouvrage des ministres ; mais j'affirme que la minute de celle qui a été écrrite aux officiers de la marine est restée deux jours entre les mains du roi qui y a fait plusieurs corrections écrites de sa main, les unes à la marge et les autres en interligne, et que cette minute a dû se trouver avec plusieurs autres pièces importantes dans un portefeuille rouge dont les commissaires du comité de surveillance de la commune ont enlevé tous les papiers dans la descente, aussi violente qu'irrégulière, qu'ils firent chez moi le 15 Août. Je dois présumer que cette pièce a été soustraite puisqu'il n'en est fait aucune mention dans le rapport fait à l'assemblée le 6 de ce mois, elle feroit cependant d'autant plus importante à connoître que ces corrections étant l'ouvrage du roi seul, on y trouveroit l'expression franche et pure de ses véritables sentimens ;

sentimens ; je ne doute pas que la Convention Nationale ne sente la nécessité indispensable de se la faire représenter.

“ Le roi m’avoit expressément recommandé d’employer en son nom tous les moyens de persuasion et d’autorité pour empêcher l’émigration des officiers de la marine, et si l’exécution de cet ordre n’eut pas tout le succès que j’aurois désiré, j’y employai du moins tout le zèle qui pouvoit dépendre de moi, je ne crains pas d’invoquer sur ce point le témoignage des chefs du bureau des officiers de ce département, je ne puis pas citer beaucoup de preuves écrites, mais je vais en rapporter une d’un assez grand poids pour me dispenser d’en chercher d’autres.

“ Un officier supérieur, du mérite le plus distingué, ayant été forcé par les outrages les plus violens et les plus multipliés à se démettre de son commandement, se rendit à Paris dans le courant de fevrier dernier avec le projet de sortir du royaume. Après avoir vainement essayé de l’en détourner par mes conseils et par mes exhortations,

j'en rendis compte au roi, qui m'autorisa à lui adresser un ordre conçu à peu de chose près dans le même style que les anciennes lettres de cachet, en voici les termes.

“ ‘ Mons . . . . Etant informé que vos humières et votre expérience vous mettent en état de donner des instructions importantes sur le service de la marine, mon intention est que vous vous teniez à portée de fournir au ministre de ce département les renseignemens qu'il aura à vous demander; en conséquence, je vous défends de sortir de Paris jusqu'à nouvel ordre, sous peine de désobéissance.

‘ *Signé,* LOUIS.

‘ Et plus bas,

‘ DE BERTRAND.’

“ La minute de cet ordre qui fut adressé à M. de Marigni doit se trouver au bureau des officiers dans les minutes du mois de Février, si par hazard elle en avoit été soustraite, M. de Marigni qui n'est pas sorti de Paris en représentera l'original.

“ Je

“ Je dois affirmer ici que parmi les officiers que j’avois engagés à rester à Paris pour être plus assuré qu’ils ne sortiroient pas du royaume, il y en avoit qui étoient hors d’etat de s’y soutenir, et aux quels le roi a fait remettre, tantôt par M. de la Porte, tantôt par moi, différentes sommes d’argent ; la dernière que j’ai touchée pour cette destination étoit de 12,000 livres ; elle me fut remise par le roi lui même dans les premiers jours de Mars, j’indiquerai dans qu’elles mains elle est passée, si la Convention Nationale desire approfondir ce fait.

“ Comment est il possible de concilier les reproches qu’on ose faire au roi relativement aux émigrés, avec tous ces faits dont aucun ne peut être contesté.”

*Des trahisons et conspirations aux quelles on prétend que le Roi a participé.*

“ On ne donnera pas sans doute cette qualification odieuse aux mesures toujours foibles, toujours insuffisantes prises pour la sûreté personnelle du roi, et dont il n’a ja-

mais manqué d'arrêter l'effet aussitot qu'il a vu une partie du peuple accompagner les assassins reconnus qui vouloient attenter à ses jours, il croyoit fermement qu'entouré du peuple, aucun danger n'étoit à craindre pour lui. On la vu dans la journée du 20 Juin éloigner de sa personne des serviteurs fideles prêts à verser jusqu'à la dernière goutte de leur sang pour sa défense, et aller accompagné de quatre gardes nationaux au devant de la multitude armée qui venoit de forcer les portes de chateau.

“ Il n'est plus permis de douter aujourd'hui, qu'il n'y eut une conspiration formidable formée contre la cour : les députés Louvet et Barbaroux ont avoué, ont attesté ce fait important à la tribune dans la séance du 30 Octobre.— C'est a Charenton (ont ils dit) que fut arrêtée la conspiration contre la cour, qui devoit s'exécuter le 29 Juillet, et qui n'eut lieu que le 10 Août (*Moniteur du 1 Novembre, page 1298. col. 3.*), le roi qui en étoit informé avoit sans doute pris quelques précautions pour garantir le chateau de l'attaque à laquelle

qu'elle il s'attendoit, mais aussitôt qu'il fut instruit par les membres du directoire du département, que des milliers de citoyens et de gardes nationales étoient réunis aux conspirateurs qui entouroient le château, il ne balança pas à se rendre avec sa famille à l'assemblée nationale et à faire donner aux Suisses la défense de tirer \*. Il est constant

\* "Lorsque le roi fut décidé à se rendre à l'assemblée, il dit aux ministres et aux autres personnes qui l'entouroient, ces paroles mémorables et trop ignorées *Allons, Messieurs, il n'y a plus rien à faire ici.* C'étoit certainement donner l'ordre le plus clair et le plus positif de ne pas rester au château, puisqu'il n'y ayoit plus rien à faire, et si cet ordre eut été transmis officiellement, comme il auroit du l'être, aux officiers des Suisses, de la garde nationale, et autres, ils se fussent tous retirés, l'entrée du château fut restée libre, il eut peut être été bousversé; mais il n'y auroit pas eu un coup de fusil de tiré. Malheureusement cet ordre ne fut point transmis et ne fut exécuté que par les personnes qui l'avoient entendu et qui accompagnèrent le Roi à l'Assemblée. Il en est résulté d'un côté que les Suisses, les gardes nationales et toutes les personnes qui s'étoient rendues au château pour la défense du roi, ont crû qu'il n'avoit pensé qu'à sa propre sûreté et se sont plaints qu'il les eut ainsi abandonnés tandis que d'un autre côté, le peuple a crû que le Roi avoit ordonné en partant la résistance et les décharges qu'il avoit effuyées, et de là les soupçons et les clamours contre la prétendue trahison du roi et contre les conspirations de la cour. Ces détails m'ont

été

en effet que les portes de la cour royale furent forcées sans aucune résistance de la part des Suisses, dont la première décharge n'eut lieu qu'après que cinq de leurs factionnaires eurent été massacrés au pied du grand escalier, ainsi les évenemens de la journée du 10 Août ne peuvent pas plus que ceux de la journée du 20 Juin, fournir matière au plus léger soupçon de trahisons ou de conspirations auxquelles le Roi ait pris la moindre part, c'est donc de sa conduite antérieure et sur tout des faits qui lui sont personnels qu'il est important d'acquérir des preuves, car on ne peut tirer aucune induction des lettres, mémoires, ou projets plus ou moins insensés qui ont pu lui être adressés, et qui se sont trouvés, soit au château, soit chez M. de la Porte, on sent bien en effet, que si des écrits coupables, pouvoient compromettre les personnes auxquelles on les adresse, les mauvais citoyens

étaient attestés par un trop grand nombre de témoins oculaires pour que je puisse les révoquer en doute : ils prouvent évidemment que les reproches faits au Roi ne sont pas mieux fondés d'un côté que de l'autre.

pourroient

pourroient souvent abuser d'un moyen aussi facile et aussi sûr pour perdre les meilleurs patriotes.

"A l'égard des nombreux écrits dont l'impression a été payée par la liste civile, et qu'on cite comme autant de preuves de trahison, il suffit d'observer qu'avant l'abolition de la royauté, les écrits anti-républicains étoient d'autant moins répréhensibles que dans la séance mémorable du 7 Juillet dernier, l'assemblée avoit décreté unanimement et par acclamation, que ceux qui proposeroient le gouvernement républicain ou l'établissement de deux chambres, seroient voués à l'exécration publique, les écrivains exagérés des deux partis, s'éloignoient également de l'esprit et des principes de la constitution, leurs productions incendiaires, prolongeoient, entretenoient le mécontentement et l'agitation du people. Les inconvénients graves qui pouvoient en résulter ont dû fixer l'attention du roi ; obligé par son serment de maintenir la constitution par tous les moyens qui étoient en son pouvoir, il a pu et dû considérer comme un de ces moyens,

moyens, celui d'éclairer le peuple par des écrits sages et constitutionnels qui servissent de contre poison aux pamphlets dangereux d'ont il étoit inondé chaque jour ; ce qu'il y a de certain, c'est que pendant mon ministère mes collègues ont, ainsi que moi, regardé comme un devoir de donner ce conseil au roi et que nous le lui avons donné plusieurs fois. Ainsi il est très possible que cet ordre ait été donné à l'intendant de la liste civile ; quant à la manière dont il a été exécuté, on sent bien que le roi n'a pas pu en suivre les détails, d'ailleurs il est de principe que l'exécution la plus reprehensible d'un ordre légitime ne peut jamais compromettre celui qui à donné l'ordre, mais seulement celui qui l'a exécuté ; or il est évident que l'ordre de faire répandre des écrits sages et constitutionnels étoit un ordre légitime. Le roi a donc pu le donner et certainement il n'en a pas donné d'autre. Mais voici des faits qui lui sont personnels et d'après lesquels on peut juger de ses véritables sentimens.

PREMIER

## PREMIER FAIT.

“ J'avois montré la répugnance la plus forte à accepter le ministère, et je n'avois pas dissimulé que le principal motif de cette répugnance étoit mon incertitude sur les véritables dispositions du roi relativement à la constitution. Il en fut instruit et lorsque je lui fus présent le 3 Octobre, par le ministre de l'intérieur, il m'adressa en sa présence ces propres paroles.

“ Je fais vos inquiétudes, je ne les blâme pas, il est tout simple que vous desiriez de savoir à quoi vous en tenir, j'ai accepté la constitution, je ne dis pas que je la croye bonne dans tous ses points, je suis même convaincu que si l'assemblée ne se fut pas interdit la faculté de recevoir les observations que je pourrois avoir à faire, elle auroit adopté les principaux changemens que j'aurois eu à proposer, mais nous n'en sommes plus là ; la constitution est acceptée telle qu'elle est, elle a en sa faveur l'opinion générale, ainsi on ne peut plus penser à des changemens que lorsque l'expérience

en aura fait sentir la nécessité, car la force ne peut rien sur l'opinion, le succès de cette expérience dépend de la fidélité avec laquelle la constitution sera exécutée, et mon intention est qu'elle le soit autant et aussi bien qu'il sera possible, voila la ligne que je me suis tracée et dont j'exige que mes ministres ne s'écartent pas, si les moyens d'exécution qui sont en leur pouvoir se trouvent insuffisants ou qu'ils éprouvent quelques embarras, c'est à l'assemblée qu'ils doivent s'adresser.'

" La reine, à qui je fus présent le même jour me répeta la même chose et finit par me dire, ' Voila le plan que le roi a adopté, je crois que c'est le seul raisonnable, et j'espère que vous ne l'en ferez pas changer.'

" J'affirme ce fait en mon ame et conscience, et j'appuye cette affirmation par mon serment que j'offre de renouveler par devant qui et en telle forme que l'assemblée jugera apropos de prescrire. Au surplus ; en rentrant chez moi je n'eus rien de plus pressé, que de prendre note de ce que le roi venoit de

de me dire ; cette note, datée du 3 Octobre, étoit dans le même portefeuille rouge, dont les commissaires du comité de surveillance de la commune ont enlevé tous les papiers ; si la convention nationale juge à propos d'en prendre connoissance, il lui sera aisé de se la faire représenter.”

### SECOND FAIT.

“ Vers la fin de Décembre dernier, ou dans les premiers jours de Janvier, un ancien militaire retiré du service\* vint me consulter à l’hotel de la marine, sur une proposition qui lui avoit été faite la veille, d’entrer dans une coalition de gentils-hommes pour escorter le roi qui devoit (lui avoit on dit) sortir bientôt du royaume. Celui qui lui avoit fait cette proposition s’étoit présenté chez lui sous le titre de maréchal de camp, et lui avoit donné 24 heures pour faire ses réflexions ; je donnai à la personne qui me consultoit l’avis de se montrer disposée à entrer dans cette coalition, pourvû qu’auparavant on lui fit connoître

\* Le Chevalier de Lafont.

son organisation, ses projets, ses moyens, et les personnes dont elle étoit composée, je lui recommandai expressément de ne rien oublier de ce qu'on lui diroit et particulièrement de s'assurer du nom et de la demeure de ce maréchal de camp ; il me promit de ne pas tarder à venir m'instruire du résultat de sa seconde conversation avec lui. Il revint en effet le lendemain et me rendit le compte le plus détaillé de ce qui s'étoit passé : j'en pris une note exacte que je lus le soir même au conseil, le roi eu fut indigné et ordonna au ministre de l'interieur d'en faire sur le champ la dénonciation au directoire du département et de lui recommander de faire toutes les recherches possibles pour découvrir ce prétendu maréchal de camp, de le faire veiller de très près et de s'assurer de sa personne s'il y avoit lieu ; comme cette lettre fut écrite au même instant par M. Cahier de Gerville, et envoyée immédiatement après le conseil, il est possible qu'il n'en ait pas gardé de minute, mais l'original se trouvera aisément dans le dépôt du directoire du département. Les recherches

cherches ordonnées par le roi furent faites avec soin, on étoit parvenu à découvrir le domicile de cet homme, mais il se cachoit depuis plusieurs jours de manière qu'il n'avoit pas été possible de le surprendre, il paroiffoit au surplus par les notes qu'on s'étoit procurées sur son compte à la police, que cet homme étoit non seulement un mauvais sujet mais une très mauvaise tête. Quoiqu'il en soit, la conduite du roi dans cette affaire prouve au moins, qu'il ne favorisoit pas les coalitions prétendues formées pour sa sûreté."

## TROISIEME FAIT.

" Dans le mois de Janvier dernier, M. Cahier de Gerville, faisant lecture au conseil d'un projet de proclamation, le roi l'arrêta à une phrase où se trouvoient ces mots, *l'amour de mon peuple*, et lui dit de les corriger par ceux ci, *l'amour du peuple Français*; *je ne puis plus*, (ajouta-t'il, d'une voix émue et les yeux gonflés de larmes,) *je ne puis plus dire MON PEUPLE*, *mais on a beau*

*faire ce sera toujours l'expression de mon cœur.*  
Ce fait intéressant peut être attesté par les ministres qui composoient alors le conseil, et j'adjure tous ceux qui les y ont précédés, ou suivis, de déclarer s'ils n'ont pas reconnu dans plusieurs circonstances, qu'un des sentiments les plus dominants chez le roi étoit l'attachement le plus profond, le plus tendre, et le plus touchant pour le peuple Français. On n'a pas oublié que le jour même de son arrivée de Varennes, l'un des premiers officiers de sa maison lui témoignant ses regrets sur le mauvais succès de cette démarche et particulièrement sur l'augmentation de crédit et de puissance qui en résultoit pour l'assemblée ; il fit sur le champ cette réponse remarquable, *tant mieux, mille fois tant mieux, pourvu qu'elle s'en serve pour le bonheur du peuple.*

#### QUARTIEME FAIT.

“ Dans la séance du 6 de ce mois, le rapporteur Valazé a fait lecture d'une note trouvée chez moi sur un nouvel ordre de

Chevalerie

Chevalerie de la Reine, et pour donner plus d'importance à cette pièce qui a excité, avec grande raison, une risée générale dans l'assemblée, il a dit qu'elle avoit été trouvée dans mon portefeuille. Le rapporteur Valazé s'est trompé, et si l'assemblée veut bien se faire représenter le procès verbal de la levée des scellés qui avoient été mis chez moi, elle y verra que ce n'est dans aucun de mes portefeuilles que cette pièce a été trouvée, mais puisqu'il faut le dire, dans le sceau de fayance qui étoit dans ma garde-robe ; il eut été difficile d'en faire usage si on ne l'eut pas séparée d'un billet d'envoi qui étoit dans le même sceau ; ce billet daté des premiers jours de Septembre ou d'Octobre 1790, étoit à peu près conçu en ces termes, ' Je vous envoie la note dont je vous ai parlé avant hier, je vous previens que je la tiens d'une personne dont la tête est exaltée, ainsi vous en croirés ce que vous voudrás.' Le lieu où elle a été trouvée, prouve que j'en avois porté le même jugement que la convention nationale.

“ Les membres du comité de surveillance de la commune qui firent l'examen de tous les papiers contenus dans ce sceau, et qui y employerent près de neuf heures, suivant le rapport de la personne qui y assistoit pour moi, y trouvèrent aussi une liste du comité Autrichien composée d'environ trente noms tous fabriqués, et ils s'empresserent de saisir cette pièce qu'ils regarderent d'abord comme une découverte très importante, heureusement la clef de ces noms se trouvoit écrite en seconde colonne sur la même page, et on y lisoit ceux de MM. Syées, Condorcet, Brissot, Robespierre, &c. &c. mais si la clef eut été écrite sur une feuille différente et qu'on eut pû la séparer de la liste aussi aisément qu'on a séparé la note sur l'ordre de Chevalerie de la Reine, du billet d'envoi, on auroit pû alors employer cette liste comme une grande preuve de l'existence du comité Autrichien.

“ Tels sont les faits que j'ai crû devoir faire connoître à l'assemblée et dont l'exactitude sera constatée par les preuves que je cite, et qu'elle pourra faire vérifier,

rifier, ou par les temoins que j'indique et qui pourront être entendus. J'en aurois eu un bien plus grand nombre à presenter si les catastrophes du mois de Septembre n'avoient pas mis en fuite ou fait périr les personnes qui auroient pû en attester la vérité, ou en rapporter des preuves écrites.

(Signé) DE BERTRAND."

## No. IV.

“ **M.** FRANÇOIS Claude Amour de Bouillé, ci-devant général de l’armée sur la Meuse et la Moselle, dite l’armée du centre, actuellement en cette ville de Londres, fait serment et dépose, que dans les premiers jours de Mai de l’année 1790, commandant alors dans la province des Evêchés, ayant envoyé sa démission au ministre de la Guerre afin de quitter le service et la France, et s’étant réfusé de prêter jusqu’alors le serment exigé par l’assemblée nationale, des officiers généraux de l’armée, le roi lui écrivit de sa main, pour l’engager à continuer ses services, à prêter son serment, et à reconnoître la nouvelle constitution Française; que ce que sa majesté dit de plus dans sa ditte lettre audit sieur déposant, devoit contribuer au bonheur du peuple, et donner audit sieur déposant les moyens de servir la patrie utilement, laquelle lettre est actuellement

lement avec ses papiers en Hollande, où il les a déposés pendant son voyage en cette ditte ville ; et le déposant déclare en outre qu'il à répondu à la dite lettre du roi, en l'assurant qu'il obéiroit à ses ordres ; qu'il prêteroit le serment ainsi qu'il le désiroit, mais qu'il faisoit le plus grand sacrifice qu'un homme pût faire, celui de ses principes et de ses opinions.

“ Plus le dit sieur déposant déclare et affirme, qu'après l'arrestation du roi à Varennes, étant lui même sorti du royaume de France, et étant dépositaire d'une somme de six cens mille livres, partie de celle de neuf cens quatre vingt treize mille francs, que le roi lui avoit fuit remettre à l'occasion de son départ de Paris le vingt deux Juin 1791, ne pouvant avoir aucune communication avec le roi, il crut devoir remettre cet argent à Monsieur ; mais que depuis le roi ayant fait demander compte audit sieur déposant des sommes qu'il lui avoit confiées et notamment de l'emploi des dites six cens mille livres, il lui fit témoigner son mécontentement de ce qu'il avoit disposé de cette

cette somme en faveur des princes ses frères, son intention étant au contraire qu'elle lui fut remise, ce qui est constaté par une lettre qu'il a chargé M. de Choiseul, de lui écrire laquelle lettre est également en Hollande. Et le dit déposant déclare encore, que ce n'est point le roi qui a fait donner à M. Hamilton, ci-devant colonel du régiment de Nassau, une somme de cent mille livres, mais que c'est lui déposant, qui la lui avoit remise en dépôt lors de l'évasion du roi, de Paris, et qu'elle faisoit partie de la dite somme de neuf cens quatre vingt treize mille francs, ce qui est constaté par quittance. Enfin le dit sieur déposant dit qu'il a dessein de retourner en peu de jour en Hollande, où sont les dites pièces sur lesquelles cette déclaration est appuyée, et qu'il les présentera si l'on le juge nécessaire.

“ Juré à la maison de Mairie de Londres  
le 27 Décembre 1792, devant moi,  
(Signé)

JAMES SANDERSON, Mayor.”

No. V.

“ Paris, 31 Decembre 1792.

“ VOICI, monsieur, le compte que je dois vous rendre au sujet de la lettre que vous m'avez écrite. Vous verrez que j'y parle de vous à la tierce personne, parce que ne sachant pas où vous demeurez à Londres, j'avais chargé un Français qui y est, et qui m'a envoyé son adresse, de vous faire cette réponse de ma part.

“ Je craignais que cette lettre qui a été mise le matin à la poste ne fut interceptée. Mais on vient de m'indiquer quelqu'un qui part tout à l'heure pour Calais, et qui vous la fera tenir plus sûrement. Ceci est donc un duplicata : et je n'ai que le tems de faire copier la lettre telle qu'elle a été écrite.

“ Vous connoissez, monsieur, l'attachement plus sincère que jamais, avec lequel j'ai l'honneur d'être votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur,

MALESHERBES.

“ Le

“ Le ministre de la justice a reçu un paquet de M. Bertrand, pour être remis à Louis XVI., et contenant des pièces pour sa justification. Le ministre, n'ayant point de communication avec le prisonnier, a envoyé ce paquet à la convention nationale.

“ Le même ministre a reçu depuis une lettre du même M. Bertrand, adressée à moi: et il y avait sur l'adresse, *Pièces pour la justification de Louis XVI.* Ces mots ont fait penser au ministre qu'il était aussi obligé de renvoyer ce paquet devant la convention nationale: c'est ce que ce ministre m'a dit quand j'ai été le réclamer.

“ J'ai vu que ces deux paquets avoient été renvoyés, par la convention, à un comité. J'ai été à ce comité, pour réclamer, au nom de celui dont je suis le défenseur, le paquet qui est pour lui, et en mon nom, celui qui est pour moi. J'ai vu que les paquets avaient été ouverts: il y avait des pièces imprimées: et dans un des paquets, qui n'est pas le mien, des pièces manuscrites qu'on ne m'a pas laissé lire, et qu'on m'a dit être des actes.

“On m'a remis sans difficulté, les imprimés que j'avois déjà. Pour les manuscrits, on n'a pas voulu me les remettre, sans avoir un ordre de la convention nationale.

“Quelqu'un du comité a été à la convention, les pièces à la main, pour demander l'ordre. Il est revenu, et m'a dit, que sur sa demande, on a passé à l'ordre du jour. Mais il n'a point rapporté les pièces, et m'a dit qu'il les avoit laissées sur le bureau. Il ne m'a pas paru qu'il ait fait constater que ces pièces qui étaient dans le dépôt du comité en fussent sorties. J'ai demandé à ces Messieurs comment je pourrais me pourvoir pour avoir ces pièces : tout le monde s'est regardé, et personne ne m'a rien répondû.

“Voila où nous en sommes. Je n'ai pas crû devoir insister sur cet objet auprès de la convention, pendant qu'elle est occupée à délibérer sur le jugement de Louis.”

## No. VI.

*Denonciation de prévarications commises dans le procès de Louis XVI., adressée à la Convention Nationale, par M. Bertrand de Moleville, ministre d'état de France.*

“ Monsieur le Président,

“ **J**E dénonce à la convention nationale, au peuple Français, à l'Europe entiere, des prévarications insignes qui viennent de se commettre dans le procès de Louis XVI., et dont je vais administrer les preuves, afin qu'il puisse être fait justice des coupables.

“ Dans le courant du mois dernier, j'envoyai au Garde du Sceau, des pièces utiles à la défense de Louis XVI., avec réquisition formelle de les lui faire remettre, j'avois pensé que la voye la plus sûre pour les faire parvenir à une destination aussi sacrée, étoit de les adresser au ministre de la justice ; je lui écrivis donc la lettre suivante :

“ ‘ Le

“ ‘ Le devoir le plus sacré des ministres de la justice, Monsieur, étant de maintenir l'exécution de toutes les loix qui assurent aux accusés, les moyens de manifester leur innocence, et le plus important de ces moyens étant la communication des pièces et mémoires qui peuvent être utiles à leur défense; c'est à vous, monsieur, que j'adresse ma réquisition formelle de faire remettre à Louis XVI. les pièces ci jointes; il suffit pour que j'y sois, non seulement autorisé, mais obligé, qu'en qualité d'ancien ministre du roi, je puise lui indiquer pour le tems de mon ministère, les faits et les preuves qui anéantissent les principaux chefs d'accusation dirigés contre lui. Tel est mon titre, et tel est l'objet de ma demande: vous sentirez, monsieur, qu'il est impossible de la rejeter, sans se déclarer complice de l'attentat le plus exécrable dont il y ait jamais eu d'exemple.’

“ Peu de jours après, j'envoyai sous le couvert de ce même ministre, un paquet adressé à M. de Malesherbes, et éti-

quêté *pièces pour la justification de Louis XVI.*; j'écrivis en même tems à M. de Malesherbes, pour le prévenir de ces deux envois, et le prier de les faire retirer; j'apprends aujourd'hui qu'il a été les réclamer lui même, et que le ministre de la justice lui a répondu 'que n'ayant point de communication avec le prisonnier, il avoit envoyé le premier paquet qui lui étoit adressé à la convention nationale, et que le second paquet quoique adressé à M. de Malesherbes, étant étiquetté, *pièces pour la justification de Louis XVI.*, ces mots lui avoient fait penser qu'il étoit obligé de suivre pour ce second paquet, la même marche que pour le premier.'

" Je m'arrête d'abord à ces deux premiers faits, et j'observe que la conduite du ministre de la justice dans le renvoi par lui fait à la convention nationale des pièces adressées à Louis XVI. rappelle celle des concierges et Guichetiers des prisons de l'ancien régime, et l'exactitude barbare avec laquelle ils renvoyoient au magistrat commissaire

miffaire des prisons, toutes les pièces, et mémoires adressés aux accusés ; mais alors on avoit aumoins un moyen assuré de les leur faire parvenir ; il suffissoit de les adref-fer directement, soit au magistrat commis- faire des prisons, soit au chef de la justice : néanmoins l'assemblée constituante juste- ment indignée de la lenteur de cette voye, et de l'inhumanité de ces précautions, en a formellement proscrit l'usage par le nou- veau code criminel ; elle a décrété non seulement que les accusés recevroient libre- ment toutes les pièces, et mémoires qui pourroient servir à leur défense, mais en- core qu'il leur seroit délivré dans les 24 heures de la demande faite par eux ou par leur défenseur, copie de toutes les pièces à leur charge, ainsi que de la procédure ; et lorsque pour être plus assuré de l'exécution de cette loi, je m'adresse au ministre spé- cialement chargé de la maintenir, il ne balance pas à l'enfreindre sous prétexte qu'il n'a point de communication avec l'accusé ! mais toutes les loix qui le protègent, pour- roient donc également être violées par ses

juges eux mêmes, si ce prétexte atroce étoit admissible, car il n'y a pas un d'eux qui ne puisse dire aussi : qu'il n'a aucune communication avec l'accusé !

“ Quant à la soustraction du paquet adressé à M. de Malesherbes, la conduite du ministre de la justice est encore plus coupable. Quoi, parceque l'étiquette de ce paquet annonce qu'il contient des pièces pour la justification de Louis XVI. le ministre de la justice a pu croire qu'il étoit de son devoir de ne pas le renvoyer au défenseur de Louis XVI. auquel il étoit adressé ! Quoi, c'est sur cette étiquette, que j'avois regardée comme une sauvegarde inviolable, et comme le moyen de plus sûr de faire parvenir ce paquet à sa destination sans le moindre retard, que le ministre de la justice s'est déterminé, non seulement à le soustraire, mais à le faire renvoyer au même comité qui a dirigé l'acte d'accusation contre Louis XVI. ! ah ! s'il pouvoit jamais exister un département d'assassinats judiciaires, qu'elle autre conduite pourroit donc être plus digne du ministre de ce département, et que pourroit-

pourroit-il faire de plus fort que de priver un accusé des pièces nécessaires à sa défense, et de les remettre entre les mains de ses accusateurs ?

“ Je soumets ces considérations à la justice de la convention nationale, et je reprends la suite des faits :

“ M. de Malesherbes s'est transporté au comité pour y réclamer les paquets adressés à Louis XVI. et à ses défenseurs ; il a vu qu'ils avoient été ouverts, qu'il y avoit des pièces imprimées, et dans un des paquets des pièces manuscrites qu'on ne lui a pas laissé lire, et qu'on lui a dit être des actes ; on lui a remis les imprimés, mais ou n'a pas voulu lui remettre les manuscrits, sans avoir un ordre de la convention nationale. Un membre du comité a été à la convention les pièces à la main pour demander l'ordre ; il est revenu et a dit à M. de Malesherbes qu'on avoit passé à l'ordre du jour sur sa demande, mais il n'a point rapporté les pièces, il a dit les avoir laissées sur le bureau, et il n'a pas paru à M. de Malesherbes qu'il ait été constaté par aucun acte,

que ces pièces qui étoient dans le dépôt du comité en étoient sorties, il a demandé comment il pourroit se pourvoir pour avoir ces pièces ; tout le monde s'est regardé, et personne ne lui a répondu.'

" On ne peut imputer qu'à un commis, ou à un sécretaire ce refus incroyable fait à M. de Malesherbes de lui laisser seulement prendre lecture des actes manuscrits contenus dans l'un de ces paquets ; aucun membre du comité n'auroit voulu sans doute se rendre coupable d'une prévarication, que le greffier d'un tribunal quelconque ne pourroit pas commettre sans encourir la destitution prononcée par la loi. Je suis également convaincu, que l'assemblée n'a passé à l'ordre du jour sur la demande de M. de Malesherbes, que parce qu'elle ne l'a pas bien entendue, ou qu'elle ne lui a pas été assez clairement présentée: il en est résulté cependant que la cause de Louis XVI. a été plaidée sans que son défenseur ait eu la moindre connoissance de ces pièces ; malheureusement ce ne sont pas les seules qui

qui ayent été soustraites; et on s'est assuré à cet égard toutes les facilités possibles, en n'observant dans l'enlèvement des papiers du roi, aucune des formalités prescrites par la loi, pour pouvoir en faire un usage juridique; on les emploie néanmoins à sa charge, comme si toutes ces formalités eussent été observées; on fait plus, on imprime et on répand avec profusion dans tout le royaume, une collection prétendue complète de toutes les pièces trouvées chez le roi, et on la compose uniquement de celles qu'on a jugées susceptibles de quelque interprétation défavorable, et qu'on a encore envenimées par les notes les plus perfides. Les auteurs de cette collection et de ces notes ne figureront pas sans doute au nombre des juges de Louis XVI. non plus que ceux qui aulieu de se borner à discuter la forme de procéder à son jugement, ont déjà ouvert et publié par la voye de l'impression, leur opinion sur le fond du procès, car suivant la loi généralement établie, et constamment observée en matière criminelle dans tous les pays civilisés, des juges qui ont

condamné un accusé avant de l'entendre, ne peuvent pas plus concourir à son jugement que ses propres accusateurs. S'il étoit possible que cette loi fut violée dans le jugement du procès de Louis XVI. la nation toute entière s'éléveroit bientôt contre ses infracteurs, et appelleroit sur leur tête la punition la plus éclatante.

“ Plein de confiance dans la justice de la convention nationale, je demande que toutes les pièces adressées au ministre de la justice pour servir à la justification de Louis XVI. soient remises à ses défenseurs.

“ Dans le nombre des autres pièces qui ont dû se trouver dans les papiers faisis au chateau des Thuilleries, et qui ont sans doute été soustraites, puisqu'on ne les a pas comprises dans les collections imprimées; je citerai,

“ 1<sup>o</sup> Une lettre écrite au roi, à la fin du mois de Juillet dernier, par trois députés du corps législatif, qui avoient à cette époque une influence très prépondérante dans l'assemblée; l'objet de cette lettre étoit d'annoncer au roi, la catastrophe qui s'est con-

sommée le 10 Août, et de lui proposer le rappel de Servan, Claviere, et Rolland au ministère, comme le seul moyen de la prévenir. Je n'ai pas lû cette lettre, parceque je ne voyois le roi qu'en public depuis ma retraite du ministère, mais j'ai été exactement instruit de ce qu'elle contenoit, par des personnes qui l'avoient lue ; j'indiquerai ces personnes et les trois députés qui ont signé cette lettre, aussitôt que le procès de Louis XVI. commencera à s'instruire, à charge et à décharge par la voye de l'information, comme doit s'instruire tout procès criminel pour pouvoir être jugé. Cette lettre prouvera du moins que ce n'est pas à Louis XVI. qu'il faut reprocher les flots de sang qui ont coulé dans la journée du 10 Août, mais à la faction qui vouloit le détrôner et l'égorger pour faire rentrer Servan, Claviere et Rolland dans le ministère, et dont les succès n'ont pas encore assouvi la rage. Thyerry, premier valet de chambre du roi, fut chargé de lui remettre cette lettre ; il a été massacré depuis, quoiqu'il ne fut

fut pas de service au chateau dans la journée du 10 Août.

“ 2° Un plan secret contenant 21 articles, arrêté à Mantoue par l'empereur Léopold, à la fin du mois de May 1791. L'objet de ce plan, étoit le rétablissement de l'ancienne autorité du roi ; l'empereur devoit pour cet effet entrer en France avec toutes ses troupes au commencement du mois de Juillet suivant, époque à laquelle nos armées et nos frontières n'étoient pas en état de défense. Le roi seul pouvoit empêcher, et empêcha l'exécution de ce plan ; on ne lui demandoit que son consentement secret, et il n'eut besoin de consulter personne pour le refuser, parceque les sacrifices auxquels le bonheur du peuple le déterminoit, étoient toujours sincères. Les deux seuls ministres qui avoient été instruits de ces faits, et d'une infinité d'autres aussi importants pour la justification du roi, dont ils avoient obtenu et justifié la confiance, (MM. de Montmorin et de Lessart,) ont été massacrés, et malheureusement il est bien difficile de n'attribuer qu'au hazard le choix des

des victimes immolées le 2 Septembre, et celui des pièces qui ont été soustraites des papiers du roi, ou dont la publication est retardée ; quoiqu'il en soit, si le plan secret de Léopold ne se trouve pas, j'indiquerai encore aussitôt que l'information sera commencée, trois témoins qui en ont eu une parfaite connoissance, et qui par l'uniformité de leur déposition pourront en constater l'existence, et la teneur aussi complètement que si la pièce elle-même étoit produite.

“ 3° Un mémoire écrit en entier de la main du roi, dans lequel il se rend compte à lui-même de tout ce qu'il a fait depuis qu'il est monté sur le trône, de ses projets, de ses vues, et même des fautes qu'il avoit à se reprocher. Ce mémoire qu'on peut regarder comme le portrait fidèle de Louis XVI. peint par lui même et pour lui seul, seroit aujourd'hui la pièce la plus intéressante de son procès ; on y reconnoit jusques dans les fautes qu'il se reproche l'empreinte de toutes ses vertus, et de son amour constant pour le peuple François ; l'existence

de ce mémoire parmi les papiers saisis chez le roi, est constatée par une lettre qui vient d'être adressée par M. de Liancourt à M. de Malesherbes.

“ Tels sont, monsieur, les faits sur lesquels j'ai crû devoir appeler l'animadversion de la convention nationale, et l'attention de toute l'Europe, en donnant à cette dénonciation toute la publicité possible ; j'en dépose la minute chez de Lord Maire de Londres, et je vous requiers, monsieur, en votre qualité de président, d'en donner communication à l'assemblée, à défaut de quoi vous seriez bien notoirement responsable des suites de son ignorance sur les faits consignés dans cet acte.

(Signé) DE BERTRAND.

“ Londres, le 8 Janvier 1793.”

No. VII.

*Lettre du Roi Louis XVIII. à M. l'Abbé Edgeworth, confesseur de Louis XVI.*

“ Blankenbourg, le 17 Septembre 1796.

“ J'AI appris, monsieur, avec une extrême satisfaction que vous êtes enfin échappé à tous les dangers auxquels votre sublime dévouement vous a exposé. Je remercie sincèrement la Divine Providence d'avoir daigné conserver en vous un de ses plus fidèles ministres, et l'unique confident des dernières pensées d'un frère dont je pleurerai sans cesse la perte, d'un roi dont tous les bons Français beniront à jamais le mémoire, d'un martyr dont vous avez le premier proclamé le triomphe, et dont j'espère que l'église consacrera un jour les vertus. Le miracle de votre conservation me fait espérer que Dieu n'a pas encore abandonné la France, il veut sans doute qu'un témoin irréprochable atteste à tous les Français, l'amour

mour dont leur roi fut sans cesse animé pour eux, afin que connoissant bien toute l'étendue de leur perte, ils ne se bornent pas à de stériles regrets, mais qu'ils cherchent en se jettant dans les bras d'un père qui les leur tend, le seul adoucissement que leur juste douleur puisse recevoir. Je vous exhorte donc, Monsieur, ou plutôt je vous demande avec instance, de recueillir et de publier tout ce que votre saint ministère ne vous ordonne pas de taire, c'est le plus beau monument que je puisse ériger au meilleur des rois, et au plus cheri des frères.

“ Je voudrois pouvoir, monsieur, vous donner des preuves efficaces de ma profonde estime, mais je ne puis vous offrir que mon admiration et ma reconnoissance, ce sont les sentimens les plus dignes de vous.

(Signé) LOUIS.”



END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

